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942	Historical	1st. of 8 cards.
H622	Edin. and London	reprints 1642-1886.
D. no. 1-10, 13-18 in IV.	Ed. by Edmund	
Goldsmid.	Limited to 250 copies.	
	Contents	
148129	Political	creed of a Tory.
		See Next Card

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TECHNICAL MICROFORM DATA

FILM SIZE: 35mm

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H622	2.	Duke Hamilton's conditions for surrendering... to the Par- liament's forces. 1648.	
	3	Great Britain—Parliament.	
148129		Remon. Ostrance, or the de.	See Next Card

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942		<sup>3</sup> claration of Parliament. 1642
H622	4	Fairfax, F.F. 2 <sup>d</sup> baron. Letter to ... Robert, earle of Essex. 1643.
	5	L'Estrange, Sir Roger. No blinde guides. 1660.
148129		Affairs of Scotland in 1689. no date. <i>See Next Card</i>

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942	7	C. H. News from Dublin in
H622		Ireland. 1647.
	8	<del>Sprat, Thomas, bp. of Rochester, 1635-1713</del> <del>Great Britain = King = Charles 2.</del>
		Rye house plot. 1684.
148129	9	Impostor painted in his own
		colours. No date.

See Next Card

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	11	Wanting
	12	Wanting
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H622		Instructions for the general visitation of the monasteries and nunneries, 1538-39. 1886.
	14	Four curious documents. 1886.
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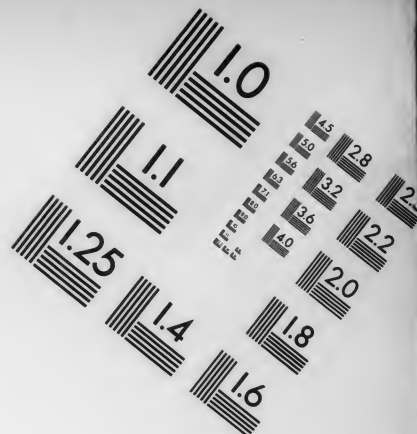
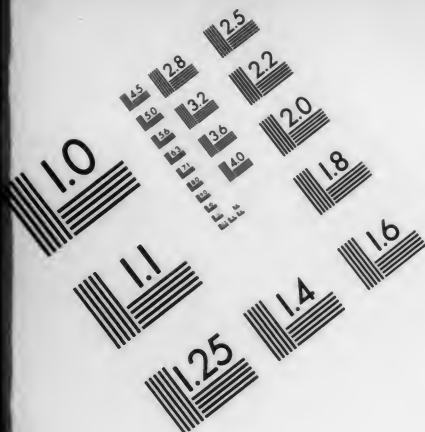


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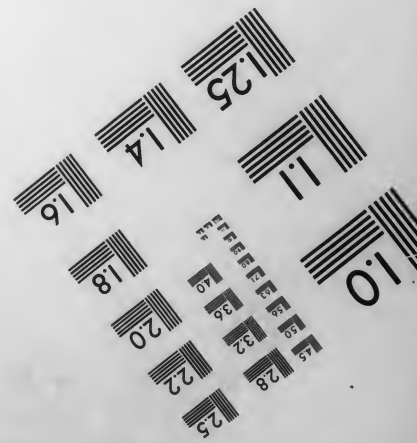
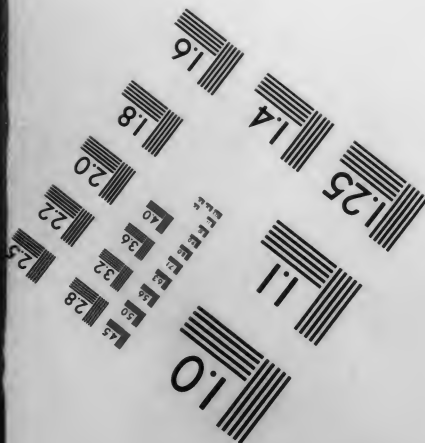
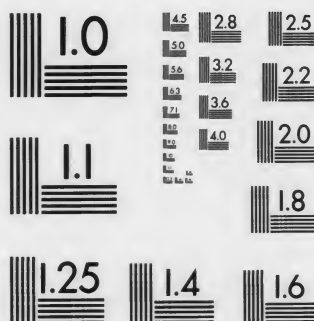
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Historical Reprints.—I.

THE  
POLITICAL CREED  
OF A  
TORY-MALECONTENT.

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Taken from the FREE-HOLDER.

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*Periculosum est credere, & non credere :  
Utriusque exemplum breviter exponam res.  
Hippolitus obiit, quia novercæ creditum est :  
Cassandræ quia non creditum, ruit Ilium.  
Ergo exploranda est veritas multum prius,  
Quàm stulta prævidi judicet sententia. Phædr.*

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EDINBURGH:  
Printed in the Year MDCCXLV.



This Reprint is limited to 200 small-paper and 50 large-paper copies.



THE  
POLITICAL CREED  
OF A  
TORY-MALECONTENT.

HAVING in the Seventh Paper considered many of those Falshoods by which the Cause of our Malecontents is supported ; I shall here speak of that extravagant Credulity, which disposes each particular Member of their Party to believe them. This strange Alacrity in Believing Absurdity and Inconsistence may be called the *Political Faith* of a Tory.

A Person who is thoroughly endowed with this Political Faith, like a Man in a Dream, is entertained from one End of his Life to the other with Objects that have no Reality or Existence. He is daily nourished and kept in Humour by Fiction and Delusion ; and may be compared to the old obstinate Knight in *Rabelais*, that every Morning swallowed a Chimera for his Breakfast.

This political Faith of a Malecontent is altogether founded on Hope. He does not give Credit to any thing because it is probable, but

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because it is pleasing. His Wishes serve him instead of Reasons, to confirm the Truth of what he hears. There is no Report so incredible or contradictory in itself which he doth not cheerfully believe, if it tends to the Advancement of the Cause. In short, a Malecontent who is a good Believer has generally Reason to repeat the celebrated Rant of an Ancient Father, *Credo quia impossibile est*: Which is as much as to say, *It must be true, because it is Impossible*.

It has been very well observed, that the most credulous Man in the World is the Atheist, who believes the Universe to be the Production of Chance. In the same manner a Tory, who is the greatest Believer in what is improbable, is the greatest Infidel in what is certain. Let a Friend to the Government relate to him a Matter of Fact, he turns away his Ear from him, and gives him the Lye in every Look. But if one of his own Stamp should tell him, that the King of *Sweden* would be suddenly at *Perth*, and that his Army is now actually marching thither upon the Ice; he hugs himself at the good News, and gets drunk upon it before he goes to Bed. This Sort of People puts one in Mind of several Towns of *Europe* that are inaccessible on the one Side, while they lie open and unguarded on the other. The Minds of our Malecontents are indeed so depraved with those Falshoods which they are perpetually imbibing, that they have a natural Relish for Error, and have quite lost the Taste of Truth in political Matters. I shall therefore dismiss this Head with

a Saying of King *Charles* the Second. This Monarch, when he was at *Windsor*, used to amuse himself with the Conversation of the famous *Vossius*, who was full of Stories relating to the Antiquity, Learning, and Manners of the *Chinese*; and at the same time a Free-thinker in Points of Religion. The King, upon hearing him repeat some incredible Accounts of these Eastern People, turning to those who were about him, *This Learned Divine*, said he, *is a very strange Man: He believes every thing but the Bible*.

Having thus far considered the political Faith of the Party as it regards Matters of Fact, let us in the next Place take a View of it with respect to those Doctrines which it embraces, and which are the Fundamental Points whereby they are distinguished from those, whom they used to represent as Enemies to the Constitution in Church and State. How far their great Articles of political Faith, with respect to our Ecclesiastical and Civil Government, are consistent with themselves, and agreeable to Reason and Truth, may be seen in the following Paradoxes, which are the Essentials of a *Tory's* Creed, with relation to political Matters. Under the Name of *Tories*, I do not here comprehend Multitudes of well-designing Men, who were formerly included under that Denomination, but are now in the Interest of his Majesty and the present Government. These have already seen the evil Tendency of such Principles, which are the *Credenda* of the Party, as it is opposite to that of the *Whigs*.



## Article I.

That the Church of *England* will be always in Danger, till it has a Popish King for its Defender.

## II.

That for the Safety of the Church no Subject should be tolerated in any Religion different from the establish'd ; but that the Head of our Church may be of that Religion which is most repugnant to it.

## III.

That the Protestant Interest in this Nation, and in all *Europe*, could not but flourish under the Protection of one, who thinks himself obliged, on Pain of Damnation, to do all that lies in his Power for the Extirpation of it.

## IV.

That we may safely rely upon the Promises of one, whose Religion allows him to make them, and at the same Time obliges him to break them.

## V.

That a good Man should have a greater Abhorrence of Presbyterianism, which is *Perverseness*, than of Popery, which is but *Idolatry*.

## VI.

That a Person who hopes to be King of *England* by the assistance of *France*, would naturally adhere to the *British* Interest, which is always opposite to that of the *French*.

## VII.

That a Man has no Opportunities of learning how to govern the People of *England*, in any foreign Countrey, so well as in *France* or *Italy*.

## VIII.

That Ten Millions of People should rather chuse to fall into Slavery, than not acknowledge their Prince to be invested with an hereditary and indefeasible Right of Oppression.

## IX.

That we are obliged in Conscience to become Subjects of a Duke of *Savoy*, or of a *French* King, rather than enjoy for our Sovereign a Prince, who is the first of the Royal Blood in the Protestant Line.

## X.

That Non-Resistance is the Duty of every Christian, whilst he is in a good Place.

## XI.

That we ought to profess the Doctrine of Passive-Obedience, till such Time as Nature rebels against Principle, that is, 'till we are put to the Necessity of practising it.

## XII.

That the Papists have taken up Arms to defend the Church of *England* with the utmost Hazard of their Lives and Fortunes.



XIII.

That there is an unwarrantable Faction in this Island, consisting of King, Lords and Commons.

XIV.

That the Legislature, when there is a Majority of *Whigs* in it, has not Power to make Laws.

XV.

That an Act of Parliament to impower the King to Secure Suspected Persons in Times of Rebellion, is the Means to establish the Sovereign on the Throne, and consequently a great Infringement of the Liberties of the Subject.

FINIS.



Historical Reprints.—II.

DUKE  
Hamiltons Conditions,

FOR

Surrendring himself with all the Officers and Souldiers under his command, and three thousand Horfe and Armes to the Parliaments Forces in the County of Stafford.

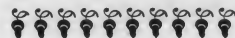
A hundred and thirteen Scots Colours brought up to the Parliament, with their Order to fend them to Colcheſter to be hung up in ſight of the Earl of *Norwich*, Sir *Charles Lucas*, and the reſt of the Defendants in the ſaid Towne.

Alſo the taking of Sir MARMADUKE LANGDALE with eight other eminent Commanders, and carrying them Priſoners to Nottingham Caſtle.

A Meſſage from Lieutenant-Generall *Cromwell* to Major Generall *Monroe* about putting to death 4000. Scots Priſoners.

A Letter ſent by a Committee-man from the E. of *Norwich*, Sir *Charles Lucas*, &c., to the L. Generall, to march away with Drums beating, and Colours flying.

The Surrender of Deale Caſtle in Kent to Colonell *Rich*, and Colonell *Hewſon*.



Printed for R. B. 1648.



*This Reprint is limited to 200 small-paper and 50  
large-paper copies.*



Duke *Hamiltons* Conditions for  
surrendring himself and all  
Officers and Souldiers  
under his Command, with 3000.  
Horse and Armes  
To the Parliaments Forces.

**T**HURSDAY the 25. of this instant *August*,  
were brought to the house of Commons  
by one Mr. *Noble* (who came from Liev-  
tenant General *Cromwell*) 113. Colours  
of Horse and Foot, which were from the Scots  
upon the taking of their whole Body of Foot in  
Lancashire, consisting of about nine thousand, and  
putting the Duke with such horse as he had left to  
flight.

Amongst these Colours are Duke *Hamiltons*  
owne Standard of white Searsnet, with a Crowne  
in the midst, and underneath this Motto.

DATE CÆSARI :

The rest of the Colours for all that Regiment of  
Horse had the same Motto.

The Dukes Colours for his Regiment of Foot



were also white, and (which is more then usuall) had this Motto,

*For Covenant, King and Kingdome.*

A great number of Horse-Colours are yet to come in, and when they are brought together, it is conceived the Parliament will give order for hanging them up (as Trophies) in Westminster Hall, the Abbey, or some other eminent place.

The Duke fled with a party of Horse into Cheshire, where the Countrey rose with so much gallantry and resolution, that with some helpe of the Souldiery in those parts, they took above a hundred prisoners at Namptwich; Colonell *Moore*, who at this time was joyned with Major *Harley*, and the rest of the Party which of late gave the great blow to the Cavaliers Party commanded by Sir *Henry Lingen*, and took himself and almost all the rest Prisoners, had intelligence hereof, and fell down into Shropshire (a thousand effective) where they lighted on many of the Scots in a frighted and most despicable condition, ten men chased a hundred.

The Duke finding himself in a great straight, the Countrey rising on either side of him, forces ready to incounter him before, and impede his march into the Isle of Anglesey; and his Forces feared to look back, for that they conceited, they alwaies heard the noise of the trampling of the feet of Lievtenant-General *Cromwells* men, who were more terrible to them then Lions; the Duke with those remaining with him being in a fainting con-

dition, turned on one fide, and rowled down upon Utcester in the County of Stafford.

When he came thither, he heard that the Lord *Grey* of *Groby* had a gallant Brigade of Horse, and attended the motion of the Scots; presently comes newes that Major-Generall *Lambert* with a considerable party of Horse was but about a dayes march behind; hereupon the Duke thinks of a way of submission, and finding he and his Party could no longer escape the fury of the people, wish themselves under terms of mercy, within the protection of the Lord *Grey*, and the rest of the Souldiery, on condition he might have a Convoy, which he and Sir *Marmaduke Langdale*, with the rest of the Officers, Nobility, Gentry and Souldiery of Scotland that are with him, will doubtlesse have within few days to bring them to the Parliament, or such other place as they shall appoint.

The Earl of *Traquaire* hath already submitted and yeilded himselfe prisoner, with many others; and none of the rest are like to have better quarter, they being environed, and little or no possibility of their escape.

Lievtenant-Generall *Cromwell* is in pursuit of that party of the Scots Horse that fled Northwards, and to oppose the rest of their Forces commanded by *Munro*; some small recruit added to him in this conjuncture of time, would soon cleer the North, and be a terror to any other that shall presume to invade that part of this Kingdome.

Duke *Hamilton* finding the County to rise against him, who had taken about a thousand of



the three thousand horse, marched with him towards the South, and the souldierie to pursue him, and the remaining party with him fearfull of being knockt on the head by the Countrey, sent a Message to the Governour of Stafford, signifying, that he would capitulate with him, if hee pleased on conditions for himselfe and those that were with him, the Governour of Stafford (a wife and valiant Gentleman) returnes answer, that if himself and those with him would lay downe and submit to mercy they might, otherwaies they must take what followed: The Duke stayed still at Uxcester, having left about 2000. horse, (one thousand being cut off by the Countrey before they got thither) and there inclosed on all sides, must be content with lower conditions, whereof more shortly.

In the meane time Sir *Marmaduke Langdale* and eight other eminent Commanders are taken in a mean house neare Nottingham disguised, by 12. Troopers which knew them not within an houre after they were taken, but afterwards carryed them to Nottingham Castle to accompany Colonell *Poyer*, Colonell *Powell*, and the rest taken by Lieutenant General *Cromwell* in Wales.

The Intelligence is, that Major General *Monro*, with the forces be brought out of Ireland, and those Scots horsemen which escaped to him after the late rout in Lancashire, are marching forward (and were then in Westmerland) to meet Lieutenant General *Cromwell*, upon which the Lieutenant Generall hath sent a Trumpet to *Monro*, to give

him notice, that in case he advances further Southward, he must be forced to put four thousand and od prisoners he hath of theirs to the sword.

What answer was returned we yet hear not, but it is reported that the Lord *Kalener* and *Monro* are joyned, and therefore the lesse probability that they will desist their further approach.

The Scots Colours before mentioned are carried down to the Leaguer before Colchester, and will be set up in the view of the Towne as so many figures of that admirable victory, and if the sight of them will not move the Defendents, doubtlesse if Sir *Marmaduke Langdale* were there it would do it.

When the Besiegers had first notice of this great Victory against the Scots, they gave the defendants notice thereof by discharging the great Guns six times over against the Towne.

The next day the Earle of Norwich, Sir Charles Lucas, and the rest of the Officers in the towne sent out one of the Committeemen (which they keep prisoners there) to the Lord Generall Fairfax, with a Letter, wherein they signified, that if his Excellency would give way that the Officers should march away to their owne homes, or beyond the Seas, and the common Souldiers a mile from the towne, with Drums beating, and Colours flying, and there to lay down arms, they would surrender the towne, which the Committee-man begged as for his life.



His Excellency returned answer, *that when their condition was far better then now it is, he should have refused to grant these Propositions, and therefore had lesse cause to harken to them now; His Excellency doubts not to preserve the rest of the Committee, and get the towne within foure daies; the Cannon began to make battery against the walls on Thursday last, and if they doe not suddenly surrender, they must take what follows.*

The Castle of Deale in Kent was surrendered to Colonell Rich and Colonell Hewson on Friday last, Sandown is all that holds out now in that County.

FINIS.



# A Remonstrance

## OR THE DECLARATION

Of the LORDS and *Commons*, now  
Assembled in *PARLIAMENT*,

26. of *May*. 1642.

In answer to a DECLARATION under

His Majesties Name concerning the businesse  
of *Hull*, sent in a MESSAGE to both  
Houses the 21. of *MAY*, 1642.

According to an Order made in the

House of *Commons*, on *Saturday* last, I have  
examined this Copie with the Originall,  
and have mended it.

*H. Elsi. Cler. Par. D. Com.*

*Great Britain — Parliament*  
\*\*\*\*\*

LONDON,

London printed for *Iohn Franke*. 1642.



*This Reprint is limited to 200 small-paper and 50  
large-paper copies.*



### THE THIRD REMONSTRANCE.

**A**LTHOUGH the great affaires of this Kingdome and the miserable and bleeding condition of the Kingdom of *Ireland*, affords us little leasure to spend our time in Declarations, and in Answers and Replies, yet the Malignant partie about His Majestie, taking all occasions to multiply Calumnies upon the Houses of Parliament, and to publish sharp Invectives under His Majesties Name against them and their proceedings, a new Engine which they have invented to heighten the destructions of this Kingdome and to beget and increase distrust and disaffection betweene the King and His Parliament and the People, We cannot be so much wanting to our owne Innocencie, or to the dutie of our Trust, as not to cleere our selves from those false asperitions and (which is our chiefest care) to disabuse the Peoples mindes, and open their eyes, that under the false shewes and pretexts of the Law of the Land and of their owne Rights and Liberties, they may not bee carried into the Roade way, that leadeth to the utter ruine and subversion



thereof. A late occasion that these wicked spirits of division have taken to defame, and indeed to arraigne the proceedings of both Houses of Parliament, hath beene from our Votes of the 28. of *April*, and our Declaration concerning the businesse of *Hull*, which because we put forth, before wee could send our Answer concerning that matter unto His Majestie, those mischievous Instruments of dissention, betweene the King, the Parliament and the people, whose chiefe labour and study is to misrepresent our Actions to his Majestie and to the Kingdome, would needs interpret this as an appeale to the people, and a declining of all Inter-course betweene his Majestie and us, as if we thought it to no purpose to endeavour any more to give him satisfaction, and without expecting any longer our answer, under the name of a Message from His Majestie to both Houses, they themselves have indeed made an Appeale to the people as the message it selfe doth in a manner grant it to be, offering to joyne issue with us in that way, and in the nature thereof, doth cleerely shew it selfe to be no other. Therefore we shall likewise addresse our Answer to the Kingdom, not by way of Appeale (as wee are charged) but to prevent them from being their own executioners, and from being perswaded under false colours of defending the Law, and their own Liberties to destroy both with their own hands, by taking their lives Liberties and Estates out of their hands whom they have chosen and entrusted therewith, and resigning them up unto some evill councellers about his Majestie,

who can lay no other foundation of their owne greatnesse, but upon the Ruine of this, and in it of all Parliaments, and in them of the true religion and the freedome of this Nation. And these are the men that would perswade the people, that both Houses of Parliament containing all the Peeres, and representing all the Commons, of England would destroy the Lawes of the Land and liberty of the People, wherein besides the trust of the whole, they themselves in their owne particulars, have so great an interest of honour and estate, That we hope it will gaine little credit, with any that have the least use of reason, that such as must have so great a share in the misery, should take so much paines in the procuring thereof and spend so much time, and runne so many hazards to make themselves slaves, and to destroy the property of their estates. But that we may give particular satisfaction to the several imputations cast upon us, we shal take them in Order as they are laid upon us in that message. First, we are charged for the avowing of that Act of Sir *John Hotham*, which is termed unparallelled, and an high and unheard of Affront unto his Majesty, and as if we needed not to have done it, he being able, as is alleadged, to produce no such command of the Houses of Parliament. Although Sir *John Hotham* had not an Order that did expresse every circumstance of that case, yet hee might have produced an Order of both Houses which did comprehend this Case, not only in the cleere intention, but in the very words thereof, which knowing in our Consciences to bee



so, and to be most necessary for the safety of the Kingdome, we could not but in Honour and Iustice avow that Act of his, which we are confident will appeare to all the world to be so far from being an Affront to the King, that it will bee found to have beene an Act of great Loyalty to His Majestie, and to his Kingdome.

The next charge upon us is, that instead of giving His Majestie satisfaction, we published a Declaration concerning that businesse, as an appeale to the people, and as if our intercourse with his Majestie, and for his satisfaction, were now to no more purpose, which course is alledged to be very unagreeable to the modestie and duty of former times, and not warrantable by any Presidents, but what our selves have made. If the Penner of this Message had expected a while, or had not expected, that two Houses of Parliament, (especially burthened as they are at this time with so many pressing and urgent Affaires) should have moved as fast as himselfe, hee would not have said that Declaration was instead of an Answer to His Majestie, which we did dispatch with all the speed and diligence we could, and have sent it to His Majestie by a Committee of both Houses, whereby it appears that wee did it not upon that ground, that we thought it was no more to any purpose to indeavour to give His Majestie satisfaction. And as for the duty and modesty of former times from which we are said to have varied, and to want the warrant of any Presidents therein, but what our selves have made : but if wee have made any Pre-

sidents this Parliament, we have made them for posterity, upon the same or better grounds of reason and Law then those were upon which our Predecessors first made any for us, and as some presidents ought not to be rules for us to follow ; so none can belimits to bound our proceedings, which may and must vary according to the different condition of times, and for this particular of setting forth Declarations for the satisfaction of the people, who have chosen and intrusted us with all that is dearest to them, if there be no example for it, it is because there were never any such Monsters before ever attempted to disaffect the people from a Parliament, or could ever harbour a thought that it might be effected ; were there ever such practices to poyson the people with an ill apprehension of the Parliament, were there ever such imputations and scandals laid upon the proceedings of both Houses ; were there ever so many, and so great breaches of priviledge of Parliament, were there ever so many, and so desperate designes of force and violence against the Parliament, and the Members thereof, If we have done more than ever our Ancestors have done, we have suffered more than ever they have suffered, and yet in point of modesty and duty we shall not yeeld to the best of former times, and wee shall put this in issue, whether the highest and most unwarrantable presidents of any of His Majesties Predecessors, doe not fall short and much below what hath beene done unto us this Parliament ; And on the other side, whether if we should make the highest Presidents of other



Parliaments our patternes, there would bee cause to complaine of want of modestie and duty in us, when we have not so much as suffered such things to enter into our thoughts, which all the world knowes they have put in Act.

Another Charge which is laid very high upon us (and which were indeed a very great Crime if we were found guilty thereof) is that by avowing this Act of Sir. *John Hotham*, we doe in Consequence confound and destroy the title and Interest of all his Majesties good subjects to their Lands and goods, and that upon this ground, That his Majestie hath the same title to his towne of *Hull* which any of his subjects have to their houses or lands, and the same to his Magazin and Munition there, that any man hath to his money, plate, or Jewells, and therefore that they ought not to have been disposed of without or against his consent, no more then the House, land, mony, plate, or Jewells, of any subject ought to be without or against his will.

Here that is laid downe for a Principle which would indeed pull up the very foundation of the Liberty, property and interest of every subject in particular, and of all the subjects in generall, if we should admit it for a truth that his Majestie hath the same right & Title to his Towns & to his Magazin (bought with the publike monies as we conceive that at *Hull* to have beene) that every particular man hath to his house, lands, and goods, for his Majesties townes are no more his owne then his Kingdome is his owne, and his Kingdome is no

more his own, then his people are his own, and if the King had a propriety in all his Townes what would become of the subjects propriety in their houses therein & if he had a propriety in his Kingdome, what would become of the subjects propriety in their lands throughout the Kingdome, or of their liberties if his majestie had the same right in their persons that every subject hath in their lands, or goods, & what should become of the subjects interest in the Towns & Forts of the Kingdome and in the kingdom it selfe, if his majestie might sell or give them away, or dispose of them at his pleasure as a particular man may doe with his Lands and with his Goods. This erroneous maxime, being infused into Princes that their Kingdoms are their own, and that they may do with them what they will (as if their Kingdoms were for them, and not they for their Kingdoms) is the Root of all the subjects misery, and of the Invading of their just Rights & Liberties, whereas indeed they are only intrusted with their Kingdoms, and with their Townes, and with their people, and with the publike Treasure of the Common-Wealth, and whatsoever is bought therewith and by the knowne law of the Kingdome the very Jewels of the Crown are not the Kings proper goods but are only intrusted to him for the use and ornament thereof. As the Townes, Forts, Treasure, Magazin, Offices and people of the kingdome, and the whole kingdom it selfe is intrusted unto him for the good and safety and best advantage thereof, and as this trust is for the use of the kingdome, so ought it to



be managed by the advice of the Houses of Parliament, whom the kingdome hath trusted for that purpose, it being their duty to see it be discharged according to the condition and true intent thereof, and as much as in them lyes by all possible meanes to prevent the contrary which if it hath bin their chiefe care and only Ayme in the disposing of the Towne and Magazin of Hull in such manner as they have done, they hope it will appeare clearely to all the world, that they have discharged their owne trust, and not invaded that of his Majesties. much lesse his property which in this case they could not doe.

But admitting His Majestie had indeed had a propertie in the Towne and Magazine of *Hull*, who doubts but that a Parliament may dispose of any thing wherein His Majestie or any Subjects hath a right, in such a way, as that the Kingdome may not be exposed to hazard or danger thereby, which is our case in the disposing of the Town and Magazine of *Hull*. And whereas His Majestie doth allow this and a greater power to a parliament, but in that sence only as he himselfe is a part thereof, Wee appeale to every mans Conscience that hath observed our proceedings whether we disjoyned his Majestie from His Parliament, who have in all humble wayes sought his Concurrence with us, as in this particular about *Hull*, and for the removeall of the Magazine there, so also in all other things, or whether these evill Counsels about him have not separated him from his Parliament, not onely in distance of place, but also in the dis-

charge of this joynt trust with them for the peace and safety of the Kingdome in this and some other particulars.

We have given no occasion to His Maiestie to declare his resolution with so much earnestnes, that he will not suffer either or both Houses by their Votes without or against his consent to injoyne any thing that is forbidden by the Law, or to forbid any thing that is enjoyned by the Law. For our Votes have done no such thing, and as we shall be very tender of the Law (which we acknowledge to be the safeguard and custody of all publike and private Interestes) so we shall never allow a few private Persons about his Majestie, nor his Majestie Himselfe in his own Person and out of his Courts to be Judge of the Law, and that contrary to the judgement of the highest Court of Judicature: In like manner that His Majesty hath not refused to consent to any thing that might be for the peace & happines of the kingdom, we cannot admit it in any other sence, but as His Majestie taketh the measure of what will bee for the peace and happinesse of the kingdom from some few ill affected persons about him contrary to the advice and Iudgement of His great Councill of Parliament. And because the Advice of both Houses of PARLIAMENT hath through the suggestions of evill Councillors bin so much undervalued of late, and so absolutely rejected and refused, wee hold it fit to declare unto the Kingdome (whose honour and interest is so much concerned in it) what is the priviledge of the great



Councell of Parliament herein, and what is the Obligation that lyeth upon the Kings of this Realme to passe such Bills as are offered unto them by both Houses of Parliament, in the name, and for the good of the whole kingdome whereunto they stand ingaged both in conscience and in justice to give their royall assent ; In conscience, in respect of the Oath that is or ought to be taken by the KINGS of this Realm at the CORONATION as well to confirm by their Royall assent such good Lawes as their people shall choose, and to remedy by Law such inconveniences as the Kingdome may suffer, as to keepe and protect the Lawes already in being, as may appear both by the forme of the Oath upon record, and in bookes of good Authority, and by the Statute of the 25. *Edw. 3.* entituled the Statute of Provisors of Benefices, the forme of which Oath, & the clause of that Statute concerning are as followeth.

Rot. Parl. i. *Forma juramenti soliti et consueti præstari, per*  
*H. 4. N. 17* *Reges Angliæ in eorum Coronatione.*  
 2.

*Servabis Ecclesiæ Deo Cleroq; & populo pacem ex*  
*integro et concordiam in Deo secundum vires tuas?*  
*Respondebit, Servabo.*

*Facies fieri in omnibus judiciis tuis equam &*  
*rectam justitiam & discretionem in misericordia &*  
*veritate secundum vires tuas?*

*Respondebit, Faciam.*

*Concedis justas leges & consuetudines esse*  
*tenendas & promittis per te eas esse protegendas &*

*ad honorem Dei corroborandas quas vulgus elegerit*  
*secundum vires tuas?*

*Respondebit, Concedo et promitto.*

*Adiscianturq; prædictis interrogationibus quæ*  
*justæ fuerint, pernunciatisq; omnibus confirmet*  
*Rex se omnia servaturum sacramento super altare*  
*præstito coram cunctis.*

A Clause in the Preamble of a Statute made  
 25. *Edw. 3.* Entituled the statute of Provisors of  
 Benefices.

Whereupon the said Commons have prayed our  
 said Lord the King, that sith the right of the  
 Crown of *England* & the Law of the said Realm  
 is such, that upon the mischiefs and damages which  
 happen to his Realm, he ought and is bound by his  
 Oath, with the accord of his people in his Parlia-  
 ment, thereof to make remedy and Law, and in  
 removing the mischiefs and damages which there-  
 of ensue, that it may please him thereupon to  
 ordaine remedy.

Our Lord the King seeing the mischiefs and  
 damages before mentioned and having regard  
 to the said Statute made in the time of his  
 said Grandfather, and to the causes contained  
 in the same, which Statute holdeth alwaies  
 his force and was never defeated repealed nor  
 adnulled in any point, and by so much he is  
 bounden by his Oath to cause the same to be kept  
 as the Law of his Realme, though that by sufferance  
 and negligence it hath bin sithence attempted to  
 the contrary, also having regard to the grievous



complaints made to him by his people in divers his Parliaments holden heretofore, willing to ordaine remedy for the great damages and mischiefs which have hapned, and daily doe happen to the Church of *England* by the said cause.

Here the Lords and Commons claime it directly as the right of the Crowne of *England*, and of the Law of the Land, and that the King is bound by his Oath, with the accord of his people in Parliament to make remedy and Law upon the mischiefs and damages which happen to this Realme, and the King doth not deny it, although he take occasion from a Statute formerly made by his Grandfather, which was layed as part of the grounds of this Petition, to fixe his Answer upon another branch of his Oath, and pretermits that which is claimed by the Lords and Commons, which he would not have done if it might have bene excepted against.

In Justice they are obliged thereunto in respect of the trust reposed in them, which is aswell to preserve the kingdome, by the making of new Lawes where there shall be need, as by the observing of Lawes already made. A Kingdome being many times asmuch exposed to ruine for the want of a new Law, as by the violation of those that are in being, and this is so cleare a right, that no doubt his Majesty will acknowledge it to be as due unto his people as his protection; but how farre forth he is obliged to follow the judgement of his Parliament therein, that is the question, And certainly besides the words in the Kings Oath,

referring unto such Lawes as the people shall chuse, as in such things which concerne the Publique Weale and good of the Kingdome, they are the most proper Judges who are sent from the whole Kingdome for that very purpose, so we doe not finde that since Lawes have passed by way of Bills (which are read thrice in both Houses, and committed, and every part and circumstance of them fully weighed and debated upon the commitment, and afterwards passed in both Houses) that ever the Kings of this Realme did deny them otherwise then is expressed in that usuall Answer, *Le Roy Savisera*, which signifies rather a suspension then a refusall of the Royall Assent, and in those other Lawes which are framed by way of Petitions of Right, the Houses of Parliament have taken themselves to bee so farre Judges of the Rights claimed by them, that when the Kings Answer hath not in every point bin fully according to their desire, they have still insisted upon their claime, and never rested satisfied till such time as they had an answer according to their owne demand, as was done in the late Petition of Right, and in former times upon the like occasion, and if the Parliament be Judge betweene the King and his people in the Question of Right (as by the manner of the claime in Petitions of right, and by Judgements in Parliament, in Cases of illegall Impositions and Taxes, and the like it appeareth to bee) why should they not be so also in the question of the common good, and necessity of the Kingdome, wherein the Kingdome hath as cleare a right also to



have the benefit and remedy of Law, as in any thing whatsoever, and yet we doe not deny but in private Bills, and also in publick Acts of Grace, as Pardons and the like grants of favour, his Majesty may have a greater latitude of granting or denying as he shall think fit.

All this considered, we cannot but wonder that the Contriver of this Message, should conceive the people of this land to bee so voyd of common sence, as to enter into so deep a mistrust of those that they have, and his Majesty ought to repose so great a trust in, as to despaire of any security in their private Estates, by discents, purchases, Assurances, or Conveyances, unlesse his Majesty should by his Vote prevent the prejudice they might receive therein, by the Votes of both Houses of Parliament; As if they who are especially chosen and intrusted for that purpose, and who themselves must needs have so great a share in all grievances of the Subject, had wholly cast off all care of the Subjects good, and his Majesty had solely taken it up; And as if it could be imagined that they should by their Votes overthrow the rights of Discents, Purchases, or of any Conveyance or Assurance, in whose judgment the whole Kingdome hath placed all their particular Interestes, if any of them should be called in question in any of those Cases, and that (as knowing not where to place them with greater security) without any Appeale from them to any person or Court whatsoever.

But indeed we are very much to seeke how the

case of Hull should concerne Discents, and Purchases, or Conveyances, and Assurances, unlesse it bee in procuring more securitie to men in their private Interestes by the preservation of the whole from confusion and destruction, and much lesse doe we understand how the Sovereigne Power was resisted and despised therein; Certainly no command from his Majesty, and his high Court of Parliament (where the sovereign power resides) was disobeyed by Sir *John Hotham*, nor yet was his Majesties Authority derived out of any other Court, nor by any legall Commission, or by any other way, wherein the Law hath appoynted his Majesties commands to bee derived to his Subjects, and of what validity his verball Commands are, without any such stampe of his Authority upon them, and against the order of both Houses of Parliament, and whether the not submitting thereunto be a resisting and dispising of the Sovereigne Authority, we leaue it to all men to judge, that doe at all understand the government of this Kingdome.

We acknowledge that his Majesty hath made many expressions of his zeale and intentions against the desperate designes of Papists, but yet it is also as true, that the Counsells which have prevailed of late with him, have beene little sutable to those expressions and intentions: For what doth more advance the open and bloudy design of the Papists in Ireland, (whereon the secret plots of the Papists here, doe in likely-hood depend) than his Majesties absenting himselfe, in that manner that hee doth from his Parliament and setting forth such sharp



Invectives against them, notwithstanding all the humble Petitions, and other means which his Parliament hath addressed unto him for his returne and for his satisfaction concerning their proceedings. And what was more likely to give a rise to the designes of Papists (whereof there are so many in the North neare to the Towne of *Hull*) and of other malignant and ill-affected persons, which are ready to joyne with them, or to the attempts of forrainers from abroad than the continuing of that great Magazin at *Hull* at this time, and contrary to the desire and advice of both Houses of Parliament; so that we have too much cause to believe that the Papists have still some way and meanes, whereby they have influence upon his Majesties Councells for their owne advantage.

For the Malignant party his Majesty needeth not a definition of the Law, nor yet a more full Character of them from both Houses of Parliament for to finde them out; if he will please onely to apply the Character that himselfe hath made of them to those unto whom it doth properly and truly belong, who are so much dis-affected to the peace of the Kingdome, as they that endeavour to dis-affect his Majesty from the Houses of Parliament, and perswade him to be at such a distance from them both in place and affection: Who are more disaffected to the government of the Kingdome, than such as lead his Majesty away from hearkning to his Parliament, which by the constitution of this Kingdome is his greatest and bes

Councell and perswade him to follow the malicious Councells of some private men, in opposing and contradicting the wholesome advices, and just proceedings of that his most faithfull Councell and highest Court? Who are they that not onely neglect and despise, but labour to undermine the Law, under colour of maintaining of it, but they that indeavour to destroy the fountaine and Conservatory of the law, which is the Parliament? and who are they that set up other Rules for themselves to walke by then such as are according to Lawe, but they that will make other Iudges of the Law than the Law hath appoynted, and so dispence with their obedience, to that which the Law calleth Authority, and to their determinations and resolutions to whom the Iudgement doth appertaine by Law: For when private persons shall make the Law to be their Rule, according to their owne understandings, contrary to the judgement of those that are the competent Iudges thereof, they set up unto themselves other Rules than the Law doth acknowledge: who these persons are, none knoweth better than his Majesty himselfe: And if he will please to take all possible caution of them, as destructive to the Common wealth, and himselfe, and would remove them from about him, it would be the most effectual meanes to compose all the distractions, and to cure the distempers of this Kingdome.

For the Lord *Digby* his Letter, we did not make mention of it as a ground to injure his Majestie from visiting his owne fort, but we appeale to the judgement of any indifferent man that shall read that



Letter, and compare it with the posture that his Majestie then did, and still doth stand in, towards the Parliament, and with the circumstances of that late action of his majesty, in going to *Hull*, whether the Advisors of that Iourney, intended onely a visit of that fort and Magazin? as to the wayes and overtures of accommodation, and the message of the 20 of Januarie last, so often pressed, but still in vaine, as is alledged: Our Answer is, that although so often as the message of the 20 of Januarie hath beene pressed, so often have our priviledges beene clearly infringed, that a way and method of proceeding should be prescribed unto us, as well for the settling of his Majesties Revenue, as for the presenting of our owne desires (a thing which in former Parliaments hath always beene excepted against as a breach of priviledge) yet in respect to the matter contained in that message, and out of our earnest desire to beget a good understanding between his Majesty, and us, wee swallowed downe all matters of Circumstance, and had ere this time presented the chiefe of our desires to his Majesty, had we not beene interrupted with continuall Denyalls even of those things that were necessary for our present security and subsistence, and had not those denyalls beene followed with perpetuall Invectives against us and our proceedings and had not those invectives beene heaped upon us so thicke one after another, (who were already in a manner wholly taken up with the pressing affaires of this Kingdome, and of the Kingdome of Ireland) that as we had little encouragement from thence to hope for any good Answers to our desires,

so we had not so much time left us to perfect them in such a manner as to offer them unto his Majesty.

Wee confesse it is a Resolution most worthy of a Prince, and of his Majesty, to shut his eares against any that would incline him to a civill Warre, and to abhor the very apprehension of it, but we cannot beleieve that mind to have bin in them that came with his Majesty to the House of Commons, or in them that accompanied his Majesty to *Hampton Court*, and appeared in a warlike manner at *Kings-ton* upon Thames, or in divers of them that followed his Majestie now lately to *Hull*, or in them that after drew their Swords at *Yorke*, demanding who would bee for the King, nor in them that advised his Majesty to declare Sir *John Hotham* a Traytor before the Message was sent concerning that businesse to the Parliament, or to make propositions to the Gentlemen of the County of *Yorke*, to assist his Majesty to proceede against him in a way of force before he had, or possible could receive an Answer from the Parliament, to whom he had sent to demand Justice of them against Sir *John Hotham* for that Fact, and if those malignant spirits shall ever force us to defend our Religion, the Kingdome, the priviledges of Parliament, and the Rights and Liberties of the Subjects, with our swords, the bloud and destruction that shall ensue thereupon must bee wholly cast upon their Accompt, God and our own Consciences tell us that wee are cleare, and we doubt not but God and the whole world will cleare us therein.

For Captaine *Legg*, we did not say that he was



accused, or that there was any charge against him for the bringing up of the Army, but that he was employed in that businesse. And for that question concerning the Earle of *New Castle* mentioned by his Majesty, which is said to have bin asked long since, and that it is not easie to bee answered; Wee conceive that it is a question of more difficulty and harder to be answered: Why, when his Majesty held it necessary, upon the same ground that first moved from the Houses of Parliament; That a Governour should be placed in that Towne Sir *John Hotham* a Gentleman of knowne Fortune and Integrity, and a person of whom both Houses of Parliament had expressed their confidence, should be refused by his Majesty, and the Earle of *New-Castle* (who by the way was so far named in the businesse of the bringing up of the Army, that although there was not ground enough for judicall proceeding, yet there was ground of suspicion, at least his reputation was not left so unblemished thereby, as that hee should bee thought the fittest man in *England* for that employment of *Hull*) should be sent downe in a private way from his Majestie to take upon him that government, and why he should disguise himselfe under another name, when he came hither, as hee did. But whosoever shall consider, together with these circumstances, that of the time when Sir *John Hotham* was first appointed by both Houses of Parliament to take upon him that employment, which was presently after his Majesties comming to the House of Commons, and upon the retiring

of himselfe to *Hampton Court*, and the *L. Digbys* assembling of Cavaliers at *Kingsstone* upon *Thames* will find reason enough why that Towne of *Hull* should bee committed rather to Sir *John Hotham*, by the authoritie of both Houses of Parliament, than to the Earle of *New-Castle*, sent from his Majestie in that manner that he was: And for the power that Sir *John Hotham* hath from the Houses of Parliament, the better it is known and understood, we are confident the more it will bee approved and justified: And as we do conceive that his Majesties refusall to have that Magazin removed could give any advantage against him to have it taken from him, and as no such thing is done, so wee cannot conceive for what other reason any should counsell his Majestie not to suffer it to bee removed, upon the desire of both House of Parliament, except it be that they had an intention to make use of it against them.

We did not except against those that presented a petition to his Majestie at *York* for the continuance of the Magazine at *Hull*, in respect of their condition, or in respect of their number, because they were meane persons, or because they were few; but because they being but a few, and there being so many more in the Countie of as good qualitie as themselves (who have by their petition to his Majestie disavowed that act of theirs) that they should take upon them the stile of all the Gentry and Inhabitants of that Countie, and under that title should presume to interpose their advice contrary to the votes of both Houses of Parliament, and if



it can be made to appeare, that any of these Petitions that are said to have been presented to the Houses of Parliament and to have been of a strange nature, were of such a nature as that, we are confident that they were never received with our consent and approbation.

Whether there was an intention to deprive Sir *John Hotham* of his life, if his Majestie had beene admitted into *Hull*, and whether the information were such, as that he had ground to beleieve it, wee will not bring it into question; for that was not nor ought to have beene the ground for what hee did, neither was the number of his Majesties Attendants, for being more or fewer, much considerable in this case; For although it be true, that if his Majestie had entered with twenty horse onely, hee might haply have found meanes for to have forced the entrance of the rest of his Traine, who being once in the towne would not have beene long without Armes, yet that was not the ground that Sir *John Hotham* was to proceed upon, but upon the Admittance of the King into the Towne at all so as to deliver up the Towne and Magazin unto him, and to whomsoever hee should give the command thereof, without the knowledge and consent of both Houses of Parliament, by whom he was entrusted to the contrary; and his Majestie having declared that to be his intention concerning the Towne in a message that hee sent to the Parliament not long before hee went to *Hull*, saying, That he did not doubt but that Town should be delivered up to him, whensoever he pleased, as

supposing it to bee kept against him, and in the like manner concerning his Magazin, in his Message of the foure and twentieth of April, wherein it is expressed, that his Majestie went thither with a purpose to take into his hands the Magazin, and to dispose of it in such a manner as he should think fit, upon these termes Sir *John Hotham* could not have admitted his Majestie, and have made good his trust to the Parliament, though his Majestie would have entred alone, without any Attendance at all of his owne or of the Prince, or Duke, his sons, which wee do not wish to be lesse than they are in their number, but could heartily wish that they were generally better in their conditions.

In the close of this Message his Majestie states, the case of *Hull*, and thereupon inferreth, that the Act of Sir *John Hotham* was levying of war against the King, and consequently that it was no lesse than high treason, by the Letter of the Statutes of 25. *Edw. 3. Cap. 2.* unlesse the sense of that Statute be very far differing from the Letter thereof.

In the stating of this Case divers particulars may be observed, wherein it is not rightly stated: As first, That his Majesties going to *Hull* was onely an endeavour to visit a Town and Fort of his; whereas it was indeed to possesse himselfe of the Town and Magazine there, and to dispose of them as he himselfe should think good, without and contrary to the Advices and Orders of both Houses of Parliament, as doth



clearly appeare by his Majesties owne Declaration of his intentions therein, by his Messages to both Houses immediately before and after that journey. Nor can we beleieve that any man that shall consider the circumstances of that journey to Hull, can think that his Majesty would have gone thither at that time, and in that posture, that he was pleased to put himself in towards the Parliament, if he had intended only a visit of the Towne and Magazine. Secondly, it is said to be his Majesties owne Towne, and his own Magazine: which being understood in that sense as was before expressed, as if his Majestic had a private interest of propriety therein, we cannot admit it to be so. Thirdly, (which is the main point of all) Sir *John Hotham* is said to shut the gates against his Majesty, and to have made resistance with armed men in defiance of his Majesty; whereas it was indeed in obedience to his Majesty and his authority, and for his service and the Service of the Kingdome, for which use onely all that interest is that the King hath in the Towne; and it is no further his to dispose of, than he useth it for that end; And Sir *John Hotham* being commanded to keep the Towne and Magazine for his Majesty and the Kingdome, and not to deliver them up, but by his Majesties authority signified by both Houses of Parliament, all that is to be understood by those expressions of his denying and opposing his Majesties entrance, and telling him in plaine terms he should not come in, was onely this, That he humbly desired his Majesty to forbear his entrance till he might

acquaint the Parliament, and that his authority might come signified to him by both Houses of Parliament, according to the trust reposed in him. And certainly if the letter of the statute of 25. *Ed. 3. cap. 2.* be though to import this, that no warre can be levied against the King, but what is directed and intended against his person; or that every levying of Forces for the defence of the Kings authority and of his Kingdome, against the personall commands of the King opposed thereunto, though accompanied with his presence, is levying warre against the King, it is very farre from the sense of that statute; and so much the statute it selfe speakes (besides the authority of Book-cases, Presidents of divers Traitors condemned upon that interpretation thereof:) For if the Clause of levying of warre had been meant onely against the Kings person, what need had there been thereof, after the other branch of Treason in the same statute of compassing the Kings death, which would necessarily have implied this, and because the former clause doth imply this, it seems not at all to be intended in this latter branch, but onely the levying of warre against the King, that is against his lawes and authority; and the levying of war against his lawes and authority, though not against his person, is levying warre against the King; but the levying of force against his personall commands, though accompanied with his presence, and not against his lawes and authority, but in the maintenance thereof, is no levying of warre against the King, but for him. Here is then our case: In a time of



so many successive plots and designs of force against the Parliament and Kingdome; in time of probable invasion from abroad, and that to begin at Hull, and to take the opportunity of seizing upon so great a Magazine there; In a time of so great distance and alienation of his Majesties affections from his Parliament, and in them from his Kingdome, which they represent, by the wicked suggestions of a few malignant persons, by whose mischievous counsels he is wholly led away from his Parliament, and their faithfull advices and counsels; In such a time the Lords and Commons in Parliament command Sir *John Hotham* to draw in some of the trained Bands of the parts adjacent to the Towne of Hull, for the securing of that Town and Magazine, for the service of his Majesty and of the Kingdome; of the safety whereof there is a higher trust reposed in them then any where else, and they are the proper Judges of the danger thereof.

This Town and Magazine being entrusted to Sir *John Hotham*, with expresse order not to deliver them up, but by the Kings authority signified by both Houses of Parliament; his Majesty, contrary to the advice and direction of both Houses of Parliament, without the authority of any Court, or of any legall way wherein the Law appoints the King to speak and command, accompanied with the same evill Councell about him that he had before, by a verball command requires Sir *John Hotham* to admit him into the Towne, that he might dispose of it, and of the Magazine there, according to

his owne, or rather according to the pleasure of those evill Counsellours, who are still in so much credit about him in like manner as the Lord *Digby* hath continuall recourse unto, and countenance from the Queens Majesty in Holland: by which means he hath opportunity still to communicate his trayterous suggestions and conceptions to both their Majesties, such as those were concerning his Majesties retiring to a place of strength, and declaring himselfe, and his owne advancing of his Majesties service in such a way beyond the seas, and after that resorting to his Majesty in such a place of strength; and divers other things of that nature, contained in his letter to the Queens Majesty, and to Sir *Lewis Dives*, a person that had not the least part in this late businesse of Hull; and was presently dispatcht away into Holland, soone after his Majesties returne from Hull, for what purpose we leave the world to judge.

Upon the refusall of Sir *John Hotham* to admit his Majesty into Hull, presently without any due processe of law, before his Majesty had sent up the narration of his fact to the Parliament, he was proclaimed Traitor; and yet it is said, that therein there was no violation of the Subjects right, nor any breach of the law, nor of the priviledge of Parliament; though Sir *John Hotham* be a member of the House of Commons: and that his Majesty must have better reason than bare Votes to beleieve the contrary. Although the Votes of the Lords and Commons in Parliament, being the great Councell of the Kingdome, are the reason of the



King and of the Kingdome, yet these Votes doe not want cleere and apparent reason for them: For if the solemne proclaiming a man a Traitor signifie any thing, it puts a man, and all those that any way aide, assist, or adhere unto him, into the same condition of Traitors, and drawes upon him all the consequences of Treason; and if this may be done by law, without due processe of law, the Subject hath a very poore defence of the law, and a very small, if any proportion of liberty thereby: and it is as little satisfaction to a man that shall be exposed to such penalties, by that declaration of him to be a Traitor, to say hee shall have a legall tryall afterwards, as it is to condemne a man first and try him afterwards: And if there can be a necessity for any such proclaiming a man a Traitor without due processe of law, yet there was none in this case: For his Majesty might have as well expected the judgement of the Parliament (which was the right way) as he had leisure to send to them to demand Justice against Sir *John Hotham*. And the breach of priviledge of Parliament is as cleere in this case as the subversion of the Subjects common right: For though the priviledges of Parliament do not extend to those cases mentioned in the Declaration of Treason, Felony, and breach of the Peace, so as to exempt the Members of Parliament from punishment, nor from all manner of processe and triall, as it doth in other cases. yet it doth priviledge them in the way and method of their tryall and punishment, and that the Parlia-

ment should have the cause first brought before them, that they may judge of the fact, and of the grounds of the accusation, and how farre forth the manner of their triall may concern or not concern the priviledge of Parliament: otherwise it would be in the power not onely of his Majesty, but of every private man, under pretensions of Treasons, or those other crimes, to take any man from his service in Parliament, and so as many one after another as hee pleaseth, and consequently to make a Parliament what he will, when he will, which would bee a breach of so essentiall a Priviledge of Parliament, as that the very being thereof depends upon it; and therefore wee no wayes doubt, but every one that hath taken the Protestation, will according to his solemne vow and Oath, defend it with his life and fortunes. Neither doth the sitting of a Parliament suspend all or any Law, in maintaining that Law which upholds the Priviledge of Parliament, which upholds the Parliament, which upholds the Kingdom: And we are so far from believing that his Majesty is the only Person against whom treason cannot be committed, that in some sense we acknowledge he is the only Person against whom it can be committed; that is, as hee is King, and that treason which is against the Kingdome is more against the King, than that which is against his Person, because hee is King: For that very Treason is not Treason as it is against him as a man, but as a man that is a King; and as hee hath relation to the Kingdome, and stands as a Person intrusted with the Kingdome, and dis-



charging that trust. Now the case is truly stated, & all the world may judge where the fault is, although we must avow that there can be no competent Judge of this or any the like case but a Parliament, and we are as confident, that his Majestie shall never have cause to resort to any other Court or Course, for the vindication of his just Priviledges, and for the recovery and maintenance of his known and undoubted Rights, if there should be any Invasion or violation thereof, than to his high Court of Parliament. And in case wicked Counsellours about him shall drive him into any other Course from and against his Parliament, what ever are his Majesties expressions and intention, we shall appeale to all mens consciences, and desire that they would lay their hands upon their hearts, and think with themselves, whether such persons as have of late and still do resort to his Majesty, and have his care and favour most, either have been or are more zealous Assertors of the true Protestant Profession (although we believe they are more earnest in the Protestant Profession, than in the Protestant Religion) or of the Law of the Land, the Libertie of the Subject, and the Priviledges of the Parliament, than the members of both Houses of Parliament, who are insinuated to be the Desertors, if not the Destroyers of them: And whether if they could master this Parliament by force they would not hold up the same power to deprive us of all Parliaments, which are the ground and Pillar of the Subjects Liberty, and that which onely maketh *England* a free Monarchie.

For the Order of Assistance to the Committee of both Houses, as they have no directions or instructions, but what have the Law for their Limits, and the safety of the Land for their ends; so we doubt not but all persons mentioned in that Order, and all his Majesties good Subjects wil yeeld obedience to his Majesties Authority signified therein by both Houses of Parliament: And that all men may the better know their duty in matters of that nature, and upon how sure a ground they go that follow the judgement of Parliament for their guide, we wish them judiciously to consider the true meaning and ground of that Statute made in the eleventh yeare of *Hen. 7. cap. 1.* which is printed at large in the end of his Majesties Message of the fourth of *May*. This Statute provides, that none that shall attend upon the King and doe him true service, shall be attainted or forfeit any thing: What was the scope of this Statute? To provide that men should not suffer as Traytors for serving the King in his Warres according to the duty of their Allegiance: If this had been all, it had been a very needlesse and ridiculous Statute: Was it then intended (as they may seem to take the meaning of it to be, that caused it to be printed after his Majesties Message) that they should bee free from all crime and penalty that should follow the King and serve him in Warre in any case whatsoever; whether it were for or against the Kingdome, and the Lawes thereof? that cannot bee, for that could not stand with the duty of their Allegiance; which in the beginning of this Statute is expressed



to bee, to serve the King for the time being in his Warres, for the defence of Him and the Land ; and therefore if it be against the Land, (as it cannot bee understood to be otherwise if it be against the Parliament, the representative body of the Kingdome;) It is a declining from the duty of Allegiance, which this Statute supposeth may be done, though men should follow the Kings Person in the Warre : Otherwise there had been no need of such a proviso in the end of this statute, that none should take benefit thereby that should decline from their Allegiance. That therefore which is the principle Verbe in this Statute, *is the serving of the King for the time being* ; which cannot be meant of a *Perkin Warbeck*, or any that should call himselfe King ; but such a one as what ever his Title might prove, either in himselfe or in his Ancestors, should be received and acknowledged for such by the Kingdome ; the consent whereof cannot be discerned but by Parliament ; the Act whereof is the Act of the whole Kingdome by the personall suffrage of the Peeres, and the delegate consent of all the Commons of *England* : And *Hen. 7.* a wise King. considering that what was the Case of *R. 3.* his Predecessor, might by chance of Battell be his owne, and that he might at once by such a Statute as this, satisfie such as had served his Predecessor in his Warres ; and also secure those that should serve him, who might otherwise feare to serve him in the Warres, lest by chance of Battell that might happen to him also (if a Duke of York had set up a Title against him) which had happened to his

Predecessor : he procured this Statute to bee made, that no man should be accounted a Traytor for serving the King in his Warres for the time being ; that is, which was for the present allowed and received by the Parliament in behalfe of the Kingdome ; and as it is truly suggested in the Preamble of the Statute. It is not agreeable to reason or conscience that it should be otherwise, seeing men should be put upon an impossibility of knowing their duty, if the judgment of the Highest Court should not be a Rule and guide to them ; and if the judgement thereof should be followed, where the question is who is King ? Much more, what is the best service of the King and Kingdome, and therefore those that shall guide themselves by the judgment of Parliament, ought what ever happen to be secure and free from all account and penalties, upon the grounds and equitie of this very Statute.

We shall conclude, that although those wicked Councillors about his Majesty, have presumed under his Majesties name to put that dishonour and affront upon both Houses of Parliament, as to make them the countenancers of Treason ; enough to have dissolved all the bands & sinews of confidence betweene his Majestie and his Parliament, (of whom the Maxime of the law is, That a dishonourable thing ought not to be imagined of them) yet we doubt not but it shall in the end appeare to all the world, that our endeavours have beene most hearty and sincere, for the maintenance of the true Protestant Religion, the Kings



just Prerogatives, the Lawes and Liberties of the  
Land, and the Priviledges of Parliament; in which  
endeavours by the grace of God wee will still  
persist, though we should perish in the work:  
which if it should be, it is much to be  
feared, That Religion, Lawes,  
Liberties and Parliaments,  
would not bee long-  
lived after us.

FINIS.



## A LETTER

FROM

The Right Honourable  
FERDINANDO

Lord FAIRFAX,

TO

HIS EXCELLENCY

ROBERT

Earle of ESSEX.

Relating his late prosperous succeſſe

against the popish Army in the North, his  
expelling them from their Workes, and forcing  
them to raise their siege from before  
the Towne of Hull.

Also certifying, how the Enemy have fled  
to Beverley, and were forced to leave divers  
pieces of Ordnance, much Powder and  
Ammunition behind them.

Being upon the same day wherein the Earle of  
Manchester obtained the victory neere Horn-castle  
in Lincolnshire.

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*Printed by His Excellencies speciall direction.*

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LONDON,

Printed for *Iohn Wright*, in the Old-baily.  
Octob. 18. 1643.



*This Reprint is limited to 200 small-paper and 50  
large-paper copies*



A Letter from the Right  
Honourable, FERDINANDO  
Lord *Fairfax*,  
To his Excellency, ROBERT  
Earle of *Essex*.

*May it please your Excellency,*

**S**INCE the last Account, I gave your Excellency a few daies since, of our condition at *Hull*, on the fifth of this instant Sir *John Meldram*, that gallant Gentleman is happily arrived here, with foure hundred men from the Earle of *Manchester*, and two hundred and fifty men are since come to me from Sir *William Constable*, but Sir *William* himselfe is not yet here. Some little service, I thanke God, we did on Monday morning last, what time the Enemy assaulted one of our outworkes, but was beaten backe with the losse of eleven or twelve men, and some Officers, without the losse of any of mine. Yesterday, being the eleventh of this instant, I thought fit to draw forth what strength I could well make, in a salley, to drive the Enemy from a new Worke that in the night



hee had encroacht very neere us, on the West side of the Towne, and it pleased God to give a blessing to the attempt. My men I devided into two bodies, under the command of Colonell *Lambart*, and Colonell *Rainborow*, Captaine of the Lyon, who brought some Sea men for our assistants, and all under the command in chiefe for that service of Sir *John Meldram*; whose valour and discretion with the other two Colonels throughout the whole action, I cannot mention without high commendation. About nine of the clocke by an assault two severall waies, the service begun; for, the truth is, we could not take that early advantage that I desired for such an interprise: in a short time we gained one of their workes, and assaulted them in another; and it was not long ere we were unhappily forc't to retreat, and the enemy recovered all againe. But through the goodnesse of God my men were soone rallyed, their spirits recovered, and they suddenly reposses't of the last worke, beate them out of all the rest in that part, and got possession of one of their great Brasse demy Cannon. The Enemy thus fled, and the ground ours, we drew that great Gunne out of danger of their reprisall: About two houres after our possession of those workes, the enemy had drawne downe a full body of reserves of Horse, and Foot, from all their Quarters, their numbers we know not, but about 36 Colours some of our men could tell; with these they opposed our tired men, and that in truth with excellent resolution, but it pleased God after two houres sharpe encounter, or thereabouts, they left the Field; since

that we have drawne into the town their great Demi-Cannon, one Demi-Culverin, one Sacre, three Drakes, and one case of small Pieces, some Armes, and a Carriage of great Bullet, besides some Powder, which was made use of against them. This last night I finde they have drawne of the rest of their Ordnance from their other Workes, and so are like to beat some farther distance from us, though I am informed, they intend to keepe a Garrison at *Beverley*, and to raise some Works somewhat more remote from us, to keep us from being so active as they believe vve vould be, vwhen they cannot make us so passive as they would have us. However my Lord, vve heartily and thankfully acknowledge the powerfull & vvise hand of our God in all this, desire he should have the glory of all, and to send his providence still, as occasion shall be further offered: the event whereof your Excellency shall assurdly have an account of, vvith the first opportunity, by

My Lord,

Your Excellencies most

humble servant,

FER. FAIRFAX.

Kingston *super* Hull,  
12 Octob. 1643.





Octob. 17. 1643.

*I*t is his Excellencies pleasure this Letter be  
forthwith printed.

JOHN BALDWIN, *Secretary*  
to his Excellence.





Historical Reprints.—V.

NO

# Blinde Guides,

IN ANSWER

To a feditious Pamphlet of

J. MILTON'S,

INTITULED

*Brief Notes upon a late Sermon Titt'd, the fear of  
God and the King; Preachd, and since Pub-  
lishd, By Matthew Griffith, D.D.  
And Chaplain to the late  
KING, &c.*

Addressed to the Author.

*If the Blinde lead the Blinde, Both shall fall  
into the Ditch.*

*By J. S. K. S. Exchange 1616-1704*



LONDON,

Printed for Henry Broome April 20. 1660.



*This Reprint is limited to 200 small-paper and 50  
large-paper copies.*



NO  
Blinde Guides, &c.

*Mr Milton,*

**A**lthough in your *Life*, and *Doctrine*, you have *Resolved* one great *Question*; by evincing that *Devils* may *Indue* *Human* *shapes*; and proving your *self*, even to your own *Wife*, an *Incubus*: you have yet started *Another*; and that is, whether *you* are not of *That* Regiment, *which* carried the *Herd* of *Swine* head-long into the *Sea*: and moved the *People* to beseech *Jesus* to depart out of *their* *coasts*. (*This* may be very well imagined, from your suitable practices *Here*). Is it possible to read your *Proposals* of the *benefits* of a *Free-State*, without Reflecting upon your *Tuteurs*—*All this will I give thee, if thou wilt fall down, and worship me*? Come, come, Sir, lay the *Devil* aside; do not proceed with so much *malice*, and against *Knowledge*: — Act like a



*Man*; — that a good Christian may not be affraid to pray for you.

Was it not *You*, that scribled a Justification of the *Murther* of the *King*, against *Salmasius*, and made it good too, Thus: *That murther was an Action meritorious, compared with your superiour wickedness.* 'Tis *There*, (as I remember) that you *Common place* your self into *set forms* of *Rayling*, two Pages thick: and lest, your Infamy should not extend it self enough, within the Course and Usage of your *Mother-tongue*, the *Thing* is Dress'd up in a *Travailing Garb*, and *Language*: to blast the English Nation to the Universe; and to give every man a Horroir for *Mankind*, when he Considers, *You are of the Race.* In This, you are above all *Others*; but in your *ICONOCLASTES*, you exceed your *self*.

There, not content to see that Sacred Head divided from the *Body*; your piercing Malice enters into the private Agonies of his struggling *Soul*; with a Blasphemous Insolence, invading the Prerogative of God himself: (Omniscience) and by Deductions most *Unchristian*, and *Illogical*, aspersing his *Last Pieties*, (the almost certain *Inspirations* of the *Holy Spirit*) with *Juggle*, and *Prevarication*. Nor are the *Words* ill fitted to the *Matter*. The Bold *Design* being suited with a conform *Irreverence* of *Language*. (but I do not love to Rake long in a Puddle.)

To take a view in particular of all your Factious Labours, would cost more time, than I am willing to afford them. Wherefore I shall stride over all

the *rest*, and pass directly to your *Brief Notes upon a Late SERMON*, Titl'd,

*The Fear of God and the King.*

*Preach'd, and since Publish'd by MATTHEW GRIFFITH D.D. and Chaplain to the late KING, &c.*

Any man that can but *Read* your *Title*, may understand your *Drift* & that you Charge the *Royal Interest, & Party* thorough the *Doctour's* sides. I am not bold enough to be his *Champion*, in all particulars; nor yet so *Rude*, as to take an Office most properly to him Belonging, out of his Hand: Let him acquit *himself*, in what concerns the *Divine*; and I'll adventure upon the most material parts of the *Rest*. (but with this Profession, that I have no design in exposing your Mistakes, saving to hinder them from becoming the *Peoples*.)

Your *Entrance* is a little *Peremptory*, and *Magisterial*, methinks, (but that shall be allowed you) 'please you, we'll see how *Pertinent* it is, and *Rational*.

I Affirm'd in the Preface of a late discourse, Entitl'd, *The ready way to establish a free Commonwealth, and the dangers of readmitting Kingship in this Nation*, that the humor of returning to our



*old bondage, was instill'd of late by some deceivers; and to make good, that what I then affirm'd, was not without just ground, one of those deceivers I present here to the people; and if I prove him not such, I refuse not to be so accounted in his stead.*

TO the *First*: give me leave to mind you, that you make an *observation* of things *Past*, amount to a *foretelling* of what's to *come*. This *Sermon* was not *Preach'd*, when that *Humor* you mention, was *Instill'd*. Next; You'll as hardly satisfy the people, that you your selfe, are *no Deceiver*, as prove the *Doctor* one of those you *meant*. And this I'll Instance; *KINGSHIP*, is *your old Bondage*; *RUMPSHIP*, *ours*: (Forgive the Term) *You* were *Then*, *Past* the *One*: we are now (God be thanked) *past* the *Other*: and should be as loth to Return, as *You*. Yet you are Tampering to *delude* the *People*, and to withdraw them from a *Peaceable*, and *Rational* expectancy of good, into a *mutinous*, and *hopeless attempt* of mischief.

*By your own Rule now, who are the Deceivers: We*, that will not Return to our *old Bondage*; or *you*, that would *perswade* us to't?

Your next Paragraph talks of *Purgatives*, *Myrrhe*, *Aloes*, &c.—It may be an Apothecaries Bill, for ought I know, and I have no skill in Physique.

As little shall I concern my self in your unmannerly descant upon the *Epistle*, which is the Busi-

ness of your *Second Page*. The *Third*, contains your *Gloss* upon the *Text*, and that I shall examine.

### The Text.

Prov. 24. 21. *My son, fear God and the King, and meddle not with them that be seditious, or desirous of change, &c.*

Letting pass matters not in controversie, I come to the main drift of your Sermon, *the King*; which word here is either to signifie any supreme Magistrate, or else your latter object of fear is not universal, belongs not at all to many parts of Christendom, that have no King; and in particular, not to us. That we have no King since the putting down of Kingship in this Commonwealth, is manifest by this last Parliament, who to the time of their dissolving not only made no address at all to any King, but summon'd this next to come by the Writ formerly appointed of a free Commonwealth, without restitution or the least mention of any Kingly right or power; which could not be, if there were at present any King of *England*. The main part therefore of your Sermon, if it mean a King in the usual sense, is either impertinent and absurd, exhorting your auditory to fear that which is not; or if King here be, as it is, understood for any supreme Magistrate, by your own exhortation they are in the first place not to *meddle* with you, as being your self most of all the *seditious* meant here, and the *desirous of change*, in stirring them up to *fear* a *King*, whom the present Government takes no notice of.



Not to contend about the *Large*, or *Limited* Sense of the word KING : since 'tis agreed upon, at all hands, to signify *Supreme Authority* ; and, where a *Single Person governs*, to denote the *Monarch*. The issue rests upon this point : *Is there, or is there not* at present, any King of *England*? You say, *No* ; I'm of another mind : Compare our Reasons.

You Argue ? *First, the Putting down of Kingship* ; and then, — the Tacit confirmation of that *Act*, by the last *Session* : who *without any Address to any King, or Restitution of any Kingly Right, summoned the next to come by the Writ formerly Appointed of a Free Commonwealth*.

To your Assumption, that *Kingship was put down* ; I cannot subscribe, till I am better satisfied, by what *Authority* : for no *Form of Government* can be altered, but by consent of all the *Parties to it*. In short, the late *King* was *Destroy'd*, *Kingship* *Abolish'd*, the *House of Lords Disauthoris'd*, and at least 7. parts of 8. of the *Commons Members seclud'd—by the same Power*.

Come to your *Inference* now ; *That*, halts of all four, *There was no King, because they did not mention him* : you are a little bold methinks, to lay your *Brat* at the *Parliament Door* : and Father your opinions upon *them*, that in the case, would not declare their *own*.

Reasons of *State*, of *Honour*, and *Convenience*, might very fairly move them to suspend. Suppose they thought it *Prudence* to refer all to the next Convention, without so much as a Debate ;

whether a *King* or *No* : and upon this point of extreme necessity (the Nation running headlong, into another War without the Interpose of a new Representative) rather dispence with something of Informality in the Writs, than otherwise to hazzard the main Issue of the Publique weal. If all this be not enough, I hope the re-minding the *Nation* of the COVENANT ; and their *own* refusal of the Oath of ABJURATION, will content you.

Your 4th Page, runs away in some mistakes concerning *Gideon* ;—(a Person, *Call'd* and set apart by God himself ; guided by Divine *Inspirations* ; and Acting without Partnership, the work he was employ'd upon).

A little further, you deny the King, the *Power of life and death*, urging [Page 4.] that 'tis against the declared *Judgments of our Parliaments*, nay of our *Laws* ; which reserve to themselves only the power of life and death, &c.

I'LL not deny, but a Parliament is above the King : (That is : The King is greater in Conjunction with his two *Houses*, than by *Himself*) but still this weakens not the force of my assertion ; which is, that Kings must necessarily have that power : *without* it, they're no Kings (and 'tis the same thing in all Governments whatsoever, 'tis one of the Prerogatives Inseparable from supreme Authority) But since you urge the *Declar'd Judgements of our Parliaments*, in favour of your opinion, I should be glad to see them.



Now for the Laws; 'tis true; they Pronounce Life, or Death; but the King's left at Liberty to Take, or to Remit the forfeiture, at pleasure. Enough is said of this.

If I were bent to *Cavil*; your 5th. Page would afford matter abundantly, where you extravagated upon the word *Anointed*: but That is more peculiarly the *Doctor's* Business, and I refer you to him. So are your slips, [*Page 6.*] but *Those*, I cannot passe without a *marque*: For *There*, you show your *Teeth*. (I might have said, your *Eares* to boot).

“But how will you confirm one wrested Scripture with another: 1 *Sam.* 8. 7. *They have not rejected thee, but me*: grosly misapplying these words, which were not spoken to any who had resisted or rejected a King, but to them who much against the will of God had sought a King, and rejected a Commonwealth where they might have liv'd happily under the Reign of God only, their King. Let the words interpret themselves: v. 6, 7. *But the thing displeased Samuel, when they said, give us a King to judge us. And Samuel prayed unto the Lord. And the Lord said unto Samuel, harken unto the voice of the people in all that they say unto thee; for they have not rejected thee, but they have rejected me, that I should not reign over them.* Hence you conclude, so indissoluble is the Conjunction of God and the King. O notorious abuse of Scripture! when as you should have concluded, So unwilling was God to give

them a King, So wide was the disjunction of God from a King.”

**M**R. *Milton*, when your hand was *In*, another verse methinks should not have overcharg'd you: and 'tis the very next too. *As they have ever done* (says God to Samuel) *since I brought them out of Egypt, even unto this Day, (and have forsaken me, and served other Gods) even so doe they unto thee.* 'His, would have given you light to read the *Rest* by; and (possible) have done you the same service, which you pretend to doe the *Doctour*. (But none so Blind as they that will not see) especially, had you but taken in likewise the verse next Antecedent to your Quotation, which speaks the *motive* to their such *Desires*; as the other does fairly imply the *Reason* of God's *Disapproval* of them, 'twas a hard misse, and an industrious one (I fear) to scape the 5, and 8, verses, without the which, the 6 and 7, (which you make use of) have no intelligible Coherence. *Make us a King*, (say they) *to Judge us like the Nations* v. 5. and after That, v. 8. God charges them with inclinations to *Idolatry*; so that the inference is open; They had a hankering after the Gods of the Nations, as well as the *Kingship*; and *That* moved the All-seeing wisdom, (that knew their hearts) to tell Samuel, saying, *they have not Rejected Thee, but Mee*: a Speech applicable to their *Disobedience*, rather, than to their *Proposition*: God is rejected, in the rejection of his



*Ministers.* — This is a stubborn Text Sir, and will not mould as you would have it.

*Had not they against the will of God, sought a KING, and rejected a Common-wealth,* you tell us, *that they might have liv'd HAPPILY under the reign of God onely their King.* (Indeed you have the best intelligence) — I beseech you how doe you know this? whom God *loves* he *chastens*: and *persecution*, in this world, is the Portion of the Saints. It's true; their obedience to God *here*, would certainly have rendred them Happy *hereafter*; but *this* is not the Happinesse you drive at. Look back now upon the 3. *verse* of the same Chapter; and there you'll find some Reason to apprehend the contrary. For *Samuel* being Old, and having made his *sonnes Judges* over *Israel*; the Text sayes, that *his sonnes walked not in his wayes, but turn'd aside after Lucre, and took Rewards, and perverted Judgement, &c.* now, if from *hence*, you can perswade your self into a good opinion of a Popular Government, I cannot blame your stickling for the *Rump*; But that this *mis-rule* should please *God*, your modesty I hope will not pretend to offer. You'll say however, that the *Popular form* did; I'll not contend about it; Did not the *Regall* too, as much in *David*; a *King* of God's particular *choice*, and a man after his Own *Heart*? So that you gain little by the odds of a *Free-State* in ballance against *Monarchy*. In one word: The *Saviour* of the *World* was a *KING*, and a *King* of *Jewes*.

*Grant*, or *Denie* at pleasure, I have you in a

Net. Why would you meddle with a Chapter, that you were sure would burn your fingers? There's no Relief you see, against Authority. 'Tis well you stopp'd short of that *Lex Regni* which *Samuel* opens to the People; (beginning at the 11. *verse* of the same Chapter;) from whence, lyes no Appeal. Truly, your insincerity in this Section, is more exposed, than I could wish it.

*Under the Reign of God onely their King* you say. This expression, doubtfully implies you a Millenary. Doe you then, really expect to see Christ, Reigning upon Earth, even with *those very eyes* you *Lost* (as 'tis reported) *with staring too long, and too saucily upon the Portraiture of his Vicegerent, to breake the Image*, as your Impudence Phrases it? (It is generally indeed believed, you never wept them out for this *Losse*.)

In my Passage from hence, to your *Frog-morall*: I cannot but remember you that there was a *Plague* of Frogs as well as a *Fable*. *Frogs that crept into the Kings Chambers, and into the Houses of his Servants, &c.* — Now to your *Fable*.

Nor are you happier in the relating or the moralizing your *Fable*. "The *frogs* (bring once a free *Nation* saith the *Fable*) *petitioned Jupiter for a King: he tumbld amongst them a log. They found it insensible: they petitioned then for a King that should be active: he sent them a Crane* (a *Stork* saith the *fable*) *which straight fell to pecking them up.* This you apply to the reproof of them who desire change: whereas indeed the true



moral shows rather the folly of those, who being free seek a King; which for the most part either as a log lies heavie on his Subjects, without doing ought worthie of his dignitie and the charge to maintain him, or as a Stork is ever pecking them up and devouring them."

**M**r. Milton, (to agree with you as far as possible) if *One Log* be so *Intollerable*, for the *Burthen*; or *One Stork*, for the *Cruelty*, and *Greedinesse*: what do you think of 40. *Storks*, and every *Stork* a Log in his belly?

What do you think of a *Grand, Arbitrary, & Perpetual Counsel* and no more *Parliaments*? (according to your *Gratious Proposition*, [Page 8.] of your *Free and easie way*, &c.) And, in regard that in a *free Commonwealth*, they who are greatest, are *Perpetual Serbants*, and *Drudges* to the publique, at their own cost and *Charges*, neglect their own affairs; yet are not elevated above their *Brethren*, *Live soberly* in their *Families*, walk the *Streets* as other men; may be spoken to freely, familiarly, friendly, without *Adoration*. [Page 4.] What do you think of the *Rump Parliaments Perpetuating it self*, under the name of *That grand Counsel*? [Page 10.] the *Government being in so many Faithfull and Experienced hands*, next under *God*, so *Able*; especially *Filling up their number*, as they intend, and abundantly sufficient so happily to govern us: [P. 11, &c.] Alas, these very Gentlemen are

*Pigeons*, not a *Stork* among them; do not deceive your self Sir; you're one of those they have Fed: of the same *Plume*, and *Kind*; ask but the honest party of the Nation, and they shall tell you, that *Tom. Scott*, and his *Associate Patriots*, can *Peck*, as well as *Bill*.

Now we have *Play'd*, let's to our *Book* again, and be a little *Earnest*.

You charge the Doctor, in your 8. *Page*, for saying,

*That by our Fundamental Laws, the King is the highest power*, Page 40. "If we must hear mootings and Law-lectures from the Pulpit, what shame is it for a Dr. of Divinitie, not first to consider, that no law can be *fundamental*, but that which is grounded on the light of nature or right reason, commonly call'd *moral Law*: which no form of Government was ever counted; but arbitrarie, and at all times in the choice of every free people, or their representers. This choice of Government is so essential to their freedom, that longer then they have it, they are not free. In this Land not only the late King and his posteritie, but Kingship it self hath been abrogated by a law; which involves with as good reason the posterity of a King forfeited to the people, as that Law heretofore of Treason against the King, attainted the Children with the Father."

**M**ethinks you might have spar'd your Criticism upon the word *Fundamental*, being



a *Term*, that *Usage* hath authorized ; were nothing more in't : and soberly, I do not find but it may stand a nicer Test, than perhaps you'll impose upon it.

*No Law* (you say) *can be Fundamental but that which is grounded on the Light of Nature, or right reason,—which no FORM of Government was ever counted, &c.*—So that tho' GOVERNMENT it self directs to *Fundamentals*: yet the *Specification* of it, into such or such a FORM, does not. You are Queint, Sir: shew me *Government* without a *Form*, further than in *Notion*; and only *Notional* must be the *Laws* too that support it. Obedience to *Superiors*, is a *Moral Fundamental*: and where, to *One*, or *More*, vested with *unconditionate Dominion*, (I mean, as to the Power of Revocation) we once Contract a *Duty*; as the *Person*, and *Authority* are *Inseverable*, so is the *Obligation Indispensable*, which by a *Fundamentall Law* is become due; as well to the *King himself*, as unto *Kingship*. I shall be tedious if I unty all your knots.

The *Choice* you say is *Arbitrary*; so 'tis in *Marriage*, that is, till we have pass'd away our *Freedom*. (but you are for *Divorce*, I see, as well of *Governours*, as *Wives*). Your next now is a shrewd one, (is it your own I pray'e?) This choice of *Government* (you tell us) is so essential to the *Peoples Freedoms*, that longer then they have it, they're not free. In truth, you're in the Right. Is any *People Free*, where there is any *Government*? This is somewhat worse, than the Doctors FUN-

DAMENTALL. FREEDOME and GOVERNMENT (in *Politiques*) *Contra-Distinguish* one another. (have a care of this argument; for if the People are *Free* to *Chuse*, they'll never *Chuse* any of your Friends again).

But if the *King*, his *Posterity*; nay, and *Kingship* it self, have been abrogated by a *Law*; That's another matter.

By what *Law* I beseech you? By the *Law* of a little *Faction*, that dares not put their heads upon a Tryal by the Establish'd *Law* of the Land? (your next shift is wretched).

If that no *Law* must be held good, but what passes in FULL Parliament, then surely, in exactness of *Legality* no Member must be missing, &c.—

I Answer you, that it is not the *Actual sitting* of All but the *Liberty* of All to *Sit*: not the *Fullness* of the *House*, but the *Freedom* of the *Members*. It is one thing; a *Law* that's made in the *Absence* of many of the *Members*, that might have been *Present*, if they would; (and are possibly fined for *non-attendance*) and another thing; the *Vote* of a *tenth Part* of That *Body*, which it self *entire*, is but the *third Part* of the *Legislative Power*: This *Remnant* too by force of *Armes* violently secluding the *Rest*.

But you have no *Conscience* with you. *Kingship* Abolished will not do your work it seems.

You suppose "it never was establish'd by any



certain Law in this Land, nor possibly could be: for how could our forefathers bind us to any certain form of Government, more then we can bind our posteritie? If a people be put to war with their King for his misgovernment, and overcome him, the power is then undoubtedly in their own hands how they will be govern'd. The war was granted *just* by the King himself at the beginning of his last Treatie; and still maintained to be so by this last Parliament, as appears by the qualifications prescrib'd to the Members of this next ensuing, That none shall be elected, who have born arms against the Parliament since 1641. If the war were *just*, the Conquest was also just by the Law of Nations, And he who was the chief enemy, in all right ceased to be the King, especially after captivitie, by the deciding verdict of war; and royaltie with all her Laws and pretensions, yet remains in the victors power, together with the choice of our future Government."

IF *Kingship* was never established, what was I beseech you? had we *no Government*?

Nor could it be, you say: Alas then for your ready, and easie way to ESTABLISH a FREE COMMONWEALTH, what will become then of YOUR STANDING COUNCIL? If no certain form of Government can bind our posterity (as you affirm) Then is it free at any time for the People to Assemble, and Tumult, under the colour of a new Choyce.

Your next for altering the *Form of Government* upon a Quarrell onely in point of *male-administration*: I think that cleers it self.

You say that the *Warre was granted just by the King himself, &c.* and (a while after) *if the War were just, so was the Conquest also, by the Law of Nations; — and that the victors, are free to chuse, a Future Government.*

What would you give that I'd dispute the *Originall* of the Quarrell with you? Come, we'll not differ about the *Kings Concessions*: Take it for granted, that the *Warre was just*: That is, *The Warre was Just to such intents, and with such limits, as were the evident, and declared scope, and Bounds of it.* The *Reasons*, and the *Tendency* thereof, me-thinks they should know best that *Levied*, and were *Parties* in it, and for *That*, take but one passage of above a Hundred, to the same purpose.

"We are (say they) so far from altering the *Fundamentall Constitution, and Government of the Kingdom, by Kings, Lords, and Commons* (that we have onely desired, that with the consent of the King such powers may be settled in the Two Houses, &c. — This Declaration bears date *Ap. 17. 1646.* and is entituled—*A Declaration of their true intentions, concerning the Antient Government of the Nation, &c.*

Now if the *Prospect* of the War was bounded; in *Reason*, and in *Honour*, the Conquest ought to be so likewise. Especially, where onely, *extreme necessity* was pleaded to make it appear warrant-



able; and where the dispute was *Lawfull Liberty*, and *Safety*; not *Dominion*.

Again; 'twas not against the *King*, the *Warre* was raised, therefore the *Conquest* cannot in Reason Reach him. His *Honour*, *Safety* and *Support*, the two *Houses* Vowed and Covenanted to maintain.

Further; those *Things* that you call *Victors*, may, by the same Pretence, claim to a *Conquest* over the *Lords*, and their *Fellow-Members*, whom they Forcibly cast out; as well as over the *King*, and his *Pretensions*.

Lastly; if *Victory* gives *Title*, your *Masters* are gone too.

You fall now into a vein of *weighing Governments*: (your old Trade; and the very *Coffee-Boyes* have got the knack on't al most as well as you.) As you order the Scales, the *Common-wealth* goes Down most usually, but now your great Civility gives *Us* the Better on't. FREE-COMMON-WEALTHS (as you will have it) have been ever counted fittest, for CIVILL, VIRTUOUS, and Industrious Nations, &c. believe me then, That Form's not Fit for you, and your *Adherents*.

MONARCHY, *Fittest* (as you hold it forth) to curb DEGENERATE, CORRUPT, IDLE, PROUD, LUXURIOUS People; This, does your business then.

Upon necessity yet at last, I find, a *Single Person* you'll vouchsafe to entertain; provided, such a one as has best aided the *People*, and best merited against *Tyranny*. (That's your *Caution*) this

must be one of those that turn'd the *Rump* out: for never was a more meritorious Service to the Nation.

Your next Page is a very Angry one. You'll have the *Parliament Ride the King*, you say, as well as *Bridle* him; and you'll persuade the People that there's *Law* for't too. The Question's trivial; to cut it short: *Rumps* are no *Parliaments*. But if they be so Sacred, as you argue them; how bold are you that durst propose the finall *Abrogation*, and *extinction* of them! (As in your *Ready way* you have, in *Terminis*, so often done.)

In the next place; If as you idly seem to imagine, all our *Kings* are created by *Parliament*, or *Conquest*. What becomes of that *Maxime, Rex non moritur*? and why doe you swear Allegiance to *Him* and his *Heirs* positively, if there be any uncertainty of his being admitted to the Crown? [In short, his Birth entitles him to the *Sovereignty*.] I doe not delight my self in these contests, but I am willing to lay open your little Tricks to the People.

You urge next his *Coronation-Oath*, but Deceitfully, you make him by his Oath, accomptable to Act, (in Effect, according to the *Judgement* of the *People*, but he swears to Govern according to his *own* (neither does this suppose him at Liberty to Rule according to his *Will*.)

Once more; You say, That the *Kings* principall Oath was to maintain those *Laws* which the *People* SHOULD chuse. (*Consuetudines quas Vulgus Ele-*



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*gerit*). Reconcile *Consuetudines* (referring necessarily to what is *Past*) to *Elegerit*, in the Future *Tense*, and I have done.

FINIS.



Historical Reprints.—VI.

THE  
Affairs of  
SCOTLAND  
IN 1689:

BEING

A Collection of MS. Accounts

OF

DUNDEE'S CAMPAIGN,

From the Papers of MR. NAIRNE,  
Under Secretary to KING JAMES II.

from

1688 to 1701.



*This Reprint is limited to 200 small-paper and 50  
large-paper copies.*



THE  
**Affairs of Scotland**  
IN 1689.



**J**AMES the Seventh, upon his accession, was addressed by the Scottish parliament, with expressions of the most servile adulation, and with promises of perpetual attachment to his person, and absolute submission to his will. They acknowledged, in an act, "That the blessings the nation then enjoyed were owing to the solid and absolute authority with which their Kings were invested." They expressed their abhorrence of all principles which are contrary or derogatory to the "King's sacred, supreme, absolute power and authority;" and they promised to give entire obedience to the King, "without reserve." They gave him convincing proofs of the sincerity of these professions, by extending the laws of treason, and obliging all the men in the nation, above sixteen years of age, to be in "readiness to attend the King in arms, where and as oft as he should require."

But the measures of the new reign were not



calculated to continue the popularity with which it began. James composed a new ministry, consisting almost entirely of Papists and Non-conformists. He gave new commissions to all those who were in public stations, without requiring their compliance with the tests. He dispensed with the execution of the penal laws; and advanced Roman Catholics to many places of honour and emolument in the kingdom.

These measures, and the unpopular character of secretary Melfort and others, lessened greatly the affection of the people for James and his government. Yet he had still many friends among the Scots when the prince of Orange landed in England. He was invited by them, after he retired to France, to return and join them. James, however, thought it more for his interest to go to Ireland; and he contented himself with writing a letter to the convention, which the prince of Orange had summoned to assemble, at Edinburgh, in the month of March. His letter was dated, after he had embarked, on board the *St. Michael*, the 1st of March, 1689. From Ireland, he sent them the proclamation referred to in the journal he sent to France by lord Dover. In the mean time, his friends in Scotland, particularly the viscount Dundee, were diligent in increasing the number of his adherents.

Dundee, who had refused to enter into the service of King William, came to the convention of estates, which had assembled, at Edinburgh, on the fourteenth of March; but, finding he was

deserted by some who pretended at first to adhere to the cause of his master, and apprehending there was a design to assassinate him, he retired, at the head of a troop of fifty horsemen, who had deserted to him from his own regiment, then in England; and having reconciled some of the Highland clans, who had been quarrelling among themselves, he began hostilities, without waiting either for a commission or the succours which James had promised to send him from Ireland.

Among Mr. Nairne's papers, there is a copy of an account of his military operations, which was sent to Ireland. It is called on the back:

*"News from Scotland with Mr. Hay.  
Received July 7th, 1689."*<sup>1</sup>

"BY the last information, sent by Mr. M'Swine, account was given how the viscount Dundee parted from Edinburgh; how he stayed at his own house for above a fortnight after, guarded by a party of 50 horse; and how, after a party of the Scotch dragoons came over to Dundee, with a party of Mackay's foot, he marched towards Inverness, encouraging all persons to stand out, letting them see, by his example, there was no danger in it. The account was also given, how he went through Murray, and was come back to Castle Gordon, when M'Swine was dispatched. After which, he marched to the Cairn of Mounth,

<sup>1</sup> Nairne's Papers, D.N. vol. i. fol. No. 49.



designing to go near Dundee, encouraged by the promises the Scotch dragoons had sent him, that they would declare for the King; but, by the way, having intercepted a messenger of the master of Forbes, returning from Edinburgh, found, by Mackay's letters, that he was to be at Dundee that night, with 200 foot and a regiment of English horse; and they, with the dragoons and the foot that came there before, were to pursue him wherever he went. The lord viscount waited at the cairn of Mounth, till M'Kay was within eight miles, and then marched back towards Castle-Gordon, (where the earl of Dunfermling, with 40 or 50 gentlemen, joined him) and from thence through Murray to Inverness, where he found the laird of Keppoch at the head of 700 men; the most part volunteers. They plundered M'Intosh's lands and the neighbourhood; which M'Intosh, in a manner, deserved, because the viscount had written twice to him, to declare for the King, and had got no return. The laird of Kilravock, with 300 men, was on one side of Keppoch, and the town of Inverness in arms on the other. The viscount sent to Kilravock to know his design. He professed loyalty, and so was allowed to guard his country. The magistrates of Inverness came and informed him, that Keppoch had forced them to promise him 4000 marks. My lord Dundee told them, that Keppoch had no warrant from him to be in arms, much less to plunder; but that necessity had forced him out, and told he would give his bond that, at the King's return, (since

they had not yet declared the prince of Orange King) they should have their money repaid them. After which, he desired Keppoch to march his men with him, and he would go and engage M'Kay. But the men, partly the Camerons, said they could not, without consent of their master; but the truth was, they were loaded with spoil, and neither they nor their leader had any thing else in head; so they went home plundering on the way.

The viscount marched to Glengairie, and so into Badenoch, where, considering the season was advanced towards the 8th of May, and the grass begun to appear, and having found the disposition of the low countries for the King, and received letters from most of the chiefs of clans of their readiness, and being informed of the substance of brevets, letters, and commissions, and finding that M'Kay was endeavouring to raise Highlanders and others for to ruin and suppress the King's faithful subjects, before the estate of his affairs in Ireland would allow him to come to their relief, the said viscount resolved to appoint a general rendezvous, which accordingly he did, to be, the 18th of May, in Lochaber, and acquainted all chiefs of clans; and, in the mean time, M'Kay being at Inverness, he took occasion to slip down through Athol, to St. Johnston, where he surprised the laird of Blair, seized him, his lieutenant Pogue of that ilk, trumpet, standard, and all the troopers that were in the town, with two lieutenants of M'Kay's, and two or three officers of the new levies; most of which are sent to an island of the



M'Lean's, which is said to be like the Bass. After which, he went to Dundee, thinking to gain the two troops of Scotch dragoons: but could not prevail, because of captain Balfour, who commanded them; yet he forced them to leave Dundee, but could do no more, because the town was in rebellion, and the streets barricadoed. He caused seize the drums and baggage of the laird of Drum, and others of the earl of Mar's officers, and chased the lieutenant colonel, and might have seised whole companies, but was not at the pains; yet frightened and scattered them so, that they have not been heard of since. After which, having seised 300*l.* of cess and excise, the lord viscount took his march through Athol and Rannoch, up to Lochaber, to keep the dyet of the rendezvous. Glengairie kept the day punctually, with betwixt 2 and 300 men (who, on all occasions, shews himself a man of honour, sense, and integrity.) Next came a very honest gentleman, the laird of Morer, commanding all the captain of Clan Rannald's men, on the main land near 200. Next came Appin and Glenco, towards 200. Sir Donald M'Donald was expected, but was not ready. M'Lean gave account, that he was just coming; and, after having made the viscount stay six days, Sir Alexander M'Lean, hearing his friends were in difficulties, sailed away to Kintyr, with his men and an hundred of M'Lean's: at the same time M'Lean fell sick. Lochiel came, with 600 men; Keppoch, with 200; with which the viscount marched into Badenoch, in haste, hearing that

colonel Ramsay was coming that way, with 700 foot, to join M'Kay at Inverness; and, accordingly, Ramsay having marched from Edinburgh to St. Johnston, and near 40 miles up towards Ruthven in Badenoch; but upon different news of my lord Dundee's coming, went back and fore in the hill a whole night. In the end, he went back in great confusion to St. Johnston. Several of his men deserted. The Athol men got together; and, by the prudence of the gentry, with great difficulty, were hindered from falling on them. Ramsay posted to Edinburgh, and got commission of fire and sword against Athol. About this time, account was brought to Dundee, that M'Kay was within four miles of him, with great numbers of Highlanders, Grant's men, M'Intosh's, Balnagown's, Rae's, Strathnaver's, and Monroe's, beside the standing troops. On which, he caused draw out all the men, and bid them be gaining towards a very strong ground, and sent out a party immediately to view the enemy, following it himself; having left orders with Lochiel, that the body should not go above half a mile back. However, when he returned, he understood that M'Kay had almost no Highlanders, and was not there to fight, but to meet Ramsay. He found that all the troops had marched four miles back. However, he made all haste to march to engage M'Kay: but, before he could come to the place, M'Kay was so far gone, that he could not be overtaken; and being informed there, that Sir Donald and M'Lean were yet to join, thought fit to wait; and,



in the mean time, blockt up the castle of Ruthven, where M'Kay had put 50 of Grant's men in garrison. After some days, the castle, wanting provisions, surrendered; which being burnt, and lost hopes of M'Lean, and fear of Ramsay, my lord resolved to engage M'Kay. But, so soon as he heard of the march towards him, he dislodged in the night. The viscount pursued him four days; and, by an unexpected way, came in sight of him, an hour before the sunset, and pursued them so close, that parties of the Highlanders were within shot of the rear-guard, close to the main body, and dark night came on; save which, nothing could have saved them, in all human probability. The ground was dangerous, and the march had been long; so that the viscount thought not fit to follow further, being within three miles of Strathbogy, a plain country, where the horse and dragoons had too much advantage of the Highlanders. The next morning, hearing M'Kay had marched 10 miles before he halted, the viscount lay still all that day; but, being after informed, that Sir James Lesly, with his regiment of foot and another regiment of dragoons, had joined M'Kay, and the officers of the Scotch dragoons having sent to acquaint the viscount, that there was very bad news come of the duke of Berwick's being prisoner, and of a party's being beat back, that had endeavoured to land in Scotland, and that they were so surrounded with English horse and dragoons, that, if there was any engagement, they could not shun to fight; and, therefore, begged, that he would go

out of the way, for a time, till better news should come. On all which, the viscount thought fit to return to Badenoch. Most of my lord Dumfermling's people, save himself (who continued still very fixt) and the duke of Gordon's horsemen, being wearied and near their own houses, went home, without leave; the Highlanders thinking themselves masters, grew very disorderly, and plundered, without distinction, wherever they came. The viscount fell sick, which gave boldness to the disorderly and disheartened others. The first day he marched back, he made a long march. M'Kay sent a party of horse, who seized some of the duke of Gordon's gentlemen that went off, and some of the plundering stragglers; but never came in sight of the rear guard. The next two days, the viscount did not march six miles in all; and M'Kay's foot came not within ten miles of his: but, in the evening of the last day, he sent up a party of 200 horse and dragoons, who, led on by Grant, were brought upon a party of the M'Leans, scattered a mile asunder, seeking meal. The horse came up upon them at the full gallop, having got some advertisement. About one hundred of them got together; and finding themselves on a plain, they run near half a mile, till they gained the foot of a hill, where they stood and fired upon the enemy, who, in the disorder, having killed two or three, and seized their baggage, thought they had nothing to do but knock them all down; so got above them and surrounded them, which the M'Leans perceiving, threw by their guns, drew their swords,



attacked the enemy boldly, killed the English officers that commanded, and eleven more, wounded many, and forced the rest to retire. Night being then come, the scattered M'Leans joined the rest. My lord Dundee, marching towards them, the next morning early, met Lochbuy and all his party, who had not lost above four of his men, and the baggage, and two old men and boys, who were with it. Then the lord Dundee marched to Ruthven in Badenoch, where he learned, that Ramsay had come back, with 1100 foot and 100 horse, had passed to Inverness; that my lord Murray had come up to Athol, had brought these men together, and saw Ramsay safe through. The next day, the viscount was further informed, that Ramsay and M'Kay were joined and marching towards him, and that there was come to St. Johnstone my lord Angus's regiment and other new troops, and to Dumblain more of that kind, was resolved to go to Rannoch, and strong ground near the low countries; but finding that the Lochaber men were going away every night by fortys and fiftys, with droves of cattle, and finding all the rest laden with plunder of Grant's lands, and others would needs go home, gave way to it, and came into Lochaber with them, dispersed them all to their respective homes, with orders to be ready within a few days, if the enemy pursued. If not, to lay still till further orders; and, in the mean time, send advertisement to M'Lean, Sir Donald, the captain of Clan Rannald, and M'Leod, to make ready against the rendezvous, who had not yet

come forth. It's believed M'Kay was very glad of the occasion, his horse being extremely wearied, and so retired to Inverness, where, on suspicion of correspondence, he seized eight officers of the Scotch dragoons and sent them prisoners to Edinburgh, with a guard of 300 English horse. The rest of the horse and dragoons are quartered in the adjacent places for conveniency of grass. Ramsay, with 700 foot, is sent to Elgin, who summoned Gordon castle to surrender; upon which Mr. Dumbar, and those that were with him, immediately deserted the place. There were several hundred bolls of meal there, as well as at Strathbogie. M'Kay, in the mean time, is causing seize all the meal in the low countries, and gives it to the soldiers landladies, instead of ready money: for it is believed, they have not great abundance of it. My lord Dundee hath continued in Lochaber, guarded only by 200, commanded by Sir Alexander M'Lean; but being in the heart of Glengairry and Lochiel's lands, he thinks himself secure enough, tho' he had not, as he has, the Captain of Clan Rannald with 600 men within ten miles of him, and M'Lean, Sir Donald, and M'Leod, marching towards him; so that he can march with near 4000, or refresh in safety till such time as the state of the affairs of Ireland may allow the King to send forces to his relief; which, if it please God shall fall out, there is all appearance of forming a considerable army. Notwithstanding that, the people are a little disheartened, by the unexpected surrender of the castle of Edinburgh,



which is said was only by despair the duke had of any relief, tho' he wanted not from my lord Dundee, by a third hand, all the encouragement he could give.



There is another account of military operations in Scotland, from the 21st of May to the 4th of June. It was sent by Mr. Hay to Ireland, at the same time with the preceding; for it is marked on the back:

*"Relation of what past in Scotland, in the Highlands, with [by] Mr. Hay, received July 7th, 1689."*<sup>1</sup>

It contains an account of Sir Alexander M'Lean's expedition to Kintyre, and of his return to join lord Dundee at Lochaber, with some other intelligence.

Mull, June 2d, 1689.

UPON Tuesday, the 21st of May, Sir Alexander M'Lean embarked for the relief of the King's party in Kintyre. At his landing in the island of Giga, where he found Mr. Neil of Clachalie, his lieutenant colonel, with two companies of men, who gave account, that, two days before, Lurip and he had endeavoured to stop the low country forces from entering Kintyre; they had engaged near Clachan Killcalmanell, and after

<sup>1</sup> Nairne's Papers.

facing others for two or three hours, and some party's firing, Clachalie finding the rebels still encreasing to more than four times his number, he very handsomely drew off his men, and came safe to Giga. Lurip took ship for Ireland, without acquainting any with his design; and Lergie left the castle of Skipnidge, and went for Arran. In this action Clachalie lost one man, and the rebels seven. In this condition Sir Alexander found these gentlemen, at his landing in Giga, and immediately ordered boats to be prepared for securing Lergie's safe retreat to him, and sent him orders to come to the coast side of Kintyre, where he should meet him; all which was performed before Friday night, the 27th. Upon Saturday blew a great storm, so that they could not come to Giga, which they designed, to come in all haste to his Majesty's army at Lochaber. Lergie gave an account, the rebels were 1500, preparing boats to invade Giga. Upon Sunday morning early, the wind continuing to blow in the same<sup>1</sup> art, Sir Alexander perceives two men of war, one frigate, and three or four long-boats, making from Ila towards them, and some boats coming off from Kintyre to meet them. Upon which, he and the other gentlemen disposed their boats equally in two several places, and encouraged their men to a brave resistance, this being their first action. The two men of war did anchor close within musket shot of both harbours, and had a full view of the

<sup>1</sup> Quarter.



small boats; the frigate continued still under sail, from place to place, with a great long-boat, and offered several times to land; but were always beat off. Thus they continued, firing incessantly, from eight in the morning till eight at night; about which time, the wind decreasing, Sir Alexander began to carry away his boats to other places, and two contrary ways, the better to delude the rebels, and give them the more to do, which was effected with so much courage of the soldiers, that they carried away their boats, through showers of cannon and muskets, to the other end of the island, where they embarked all their men, and came to Argyle next morning. In the action, the King's party lost one boat, and two sunk with cannon-shot, and one man only wounded. The rebels lost 13 of their men, above 400 cannon-shot, and their whole plot miscarried.

Upon Monday, Sir Alexander having intelligence, that there was a rendezvous of the rebels at Kill-Michal of Invereny, within five miles of Glasrie, he immediately makes towards them, for it was not much out of his way; but, upon approach, they all fled. Sir Alexander, with Elchille, encamped there that night, and suffered the soldiers to take nothing but meat next morning. He continued, with as much expedition as possible, to come up to my lord Dundee; and landed just now here, with the other gentlemen in the boats, and brought all his men safe to this place.

The soldiers are hearty and eager to see my lord Dundee, and suffer hunger and want of sleep,

with great patience, to come up, and are in hopes to be transported to Morven, to-morrow or Sunday.

Badinoch, the 4th June.—Just now arrived here Sir Alexander M'Lean, with Mr. Neal of Calchalie, and the laird of Lergie, where they met his excellency my lord Dundee, on his way to Lochaber; who, thereupon, dismissed the rest of his army to be refreshed at home, keeping only with himself Sir Alexander's party and a few horse, until news from his Majesty and the next rendezvous. Three days ago, a party of major general M'Kay's horse and dragoons, with six score horse, fell upon a party of M'Lean's men, commanded by Lochbuy, who was upon a party, about half a mile from the army. The M'Leans took themselves to a hill, and lost their baggage in the retreat, whereupon they took their ground and fell in pell-mell with the rebels, sword in hand, and broke them, chasing them for a good way. In this notable action, the rebels lost their chief officers, who were killed upon the place, viz. the captain, who was an Englishman of considerable note, and much regretted by the rebels. His name we have not known as yet. Himself with a lieutenant and 15 others were left dead upon the place; and the M'Leans carried the horse and arms, &c. to the camp. Lochbuy lost five of his men.

Lochaber, June 23d.—Vesternight arrived at the camp, Mr. Hay, from Ireland, with express from his Majesty, which gave great joy to his Majesty's



small boats ; the frigate continued still under sail, from place to place, with a great long-boat, and offered several times to land ; but were always beat off. Thus they continued, firing incessantly, from eight in the morning till eight at night ; about which time, the wind decreasing, Sir Alexander began to carry away his boats to other places, and two contrary ways, the better to delude the rebels, and give them the more to do, which was effected with so much courage of the soldiers, that they carried away their boats, through showers of cannon and muskets, to the other end of the island, where they embarked all their men, and came to Argyle next morning. In the action, the King's party lost one boat, and two sunk with cannon-shot, and one man only wounded. The rebels lost 13 of their men, above 400 cannon-shot, and their whole plot miscarried.

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army here. We have also accounts from several places, that his Majesty's fleet have secured their coasts and have taken, or sunk, or chased all the rebel's ships from hence. My lord Dundee is now drawing his forces together again, and resolves to march from this in a few days.



*The Viscount Dundee to the Earl of Melfort.*<sup>1</sup>

"My Lord, Moy, in Lochaber, June 27th, 1689.

"I Was not a little surprized to find, by yours, that my name has been made use of, for carrying on designs against you. Mr. Carleton is extremely in the wrong, if he says I gave him any commission to the King, or warrant to say any thing to him, in my name. Earl Bredalbin sent him to me, with a credential, which he desired me to burn so soon as I had read it. I had never seen the man in the face before, nor heard of him. He was not two hours in my company; and, when he gave me account of his pretended business to Ireland, I disliked most of it, as I signified to you, by M'Swyne; nor did I give him so much as a line with him, that I remember. I leave you to judge, if it be probable, that I would intrust myself so far to any in such circumstances, as to employ him in so nice and dangerous a point as

<sup>1</sup> Nairne's Papers, D. N. vol. i. folio, No. 48.

that is, of accusing so great a man, and so much my friend as you are, to the King. If I had any such design, I would rather have trusted myself to the King, and written frankly to himself. I will assure you, all my endeavours to lay you aside were only to yourself. I thought myself bound in duty to the King and friendship to you, not to dissemble to you the circumstances you stand in with the generality of this country and many in the neighbouring. Your merit and rising fortune has raised envy; your favour with the King is crime enough with his enemies, and I am feared, even with his ambitious friends, which I am sure can never be imagined to be one with me: for I can never have any pretensions in your way. Besides, you have contributed to all the considerable steps of my fortune; but I must tell you, that besides these generals, there are many pretend to have received disobligations from you and others, no doubt, with design on your employment; yet the most universal pretext is, the great hand you had in carrying on matters of religion, as they say, to the ruin of the King and country. I must tell you, I heard a great resentment against you, for advising the giving the bulls for the bishops, and I am feared they themselves believe it. You know what the church of England is in England; and, both there and here, they generally say, that the King of himself is not disposed to push matters of religion, or force people to do things they scrupled in conscience; but that you, to gain favour with these of that religion, had proved and prevailed



with him, contrary to his inclination to do what he did, which has given his enemies occasion to destroy him and the monarchy. This being, as I assure you it is, however unjust, the general opinion of these nations, I thought, in prudence, for your own sake as well as the King's, you would have thought it best to seem to be out of business for a time; that the King's business might go the smoother, and all pretext be taken away for rebellion; and this only, in case the King find difficulties in his affairs: for I am obliged to tell you, that, if the people take umbrage as to their religion, it will be, notwithstanding of all the foreign aid, a long war. But I think you may come over; and, when you have seen the state of affairs on the place, and spoke with every body, you may think what will be best for you to do. You desire me to recommend a proper man to be secretary. You know it is hard to do. But, if you really resolve not to seem to meddle, I would, were I you, advise the King to employ one, to be turned out when things altered, would not much disoblige, or could have no consequence. But I think I have said enough, if not too much of this.

My lord, I have given the King, in general, account of things here; but to you I will be more particular. As to myself, I have sent you it at large. You may by it understand a little of the state of the country. You will see there, when I had a seen advantage, I endeavoured to profit on it; but, on the other hand, shunned to hazard any

thing, for fear of a ruffle: for the least of that would have discouraged all. I thought, if I could gain time, and keep up a figure of a party, without loss, it was my best, till we got assistance, which the enemy got from England every day. I have told the King, I had neither commission, money, nor ammunition. My brother-in-law, Albar, and my wife found ways to get credit. For my own, nobody durst pay to a traitor. I was extremely surprised, when I saw Mr. Drummond, the advocate, in Highland habit, come up to Lochaber to me, and gave account, that the Queen had sent 2,000*l.* sterling to London, to be paid to me for the king's service, and that two more was a coming. I did not think the Queen had known any thing of our affairs. I received a very obliging letter from her, with Mr. Crain; but I know no way to make a return. However, when the money comes, I shall keep count of it, and employ it right. But I am feared, it will be hard to bring it from Edinburgh. When we came first out, I had but fifty pound of powder; more I could not get; all the great towns and sea ports were in rebellion, and had seized the powder and would sell none. But I had one advantage, the Highlanders will not fire above once, and then take to the broad-sword. But I wonder above all things, that, in three months, I never heard from you, seeing by Mr. Hay, I had so earnestly recommended it to you, and told of this way by Inverlochie, as sure, if you would not have sent expresses, we thought you would, at least, have



hastened the dispatch of these we sent. M'Swyne has now been away near two months, and we know not, if the coast be clear or not. However, I have adventured to advise Mr. Hay to return streight, and not go farther in the country. It would have been impossible for him to get through to Edinburgh; but there was no need. He came not here until the 22nd, and they surrendered on the 13th. It was not Mr. Hay's fault, he was so long a coming; for there has been two English men of war and the Glasgow frigates amongst the islands, till of late. For the rest of the letters, I undertook to get them delivered. Most of the persons to whom they are directed are either put under bond, or in prison, or gone out of the kingdom. The advocate is gone to England, a very honest man, firm beyond belief; and Athol is gone too, who did not know what to do. Earl Hume, who is very frank, is taken prisoner to Edinburgh; but will be let out, on security. Earl Bredalbin keeps close in a strong house he has, and pretends the gout. Earl Errol stays at home; so does Aberdeen. Earl Marshal is at Edinburgh; but does not meddle. Earl Lauderdale is right, and at home. The bishops, I know not where they are. They are now the kirk invisible. I will be forced to open the letter, and send copies attested to them, and keep the original, till I can find out our primate. The poor ministers are sorely oppressed over all. They generally stand right. Duke Queensberry was present at the cross, when their new mock King was pro-

claimed; and, I hear, voted for him, though not for the throne vacant. His brother, the lieutenant general, some say, is made an earl. He has come down to Edinburgh, and is gone up again. He is the old man, and has abused me strangely; for he swore to me to make amends.

Tarbat is a great villain. Besides what he has done at Edinburgh, he has endeavoured to seduce Lochiel, by offers of money, which is under his hand. He is now gone up to secure his faction, which is melting. The two Dalrymples and others against Skelmurly, Polwart, Cardross, Ross, and others, now joined with that worthy prince, duke Hamilton. M. Douglass is now a great knave, as well as beast, as is Glencairne, Morton and Eglington; and even Cassills is gone astray, misled by Gibby<sup>1</sup>. Panmure keeps right, and at home; so does Strathmore, Southesk and Kinnaird. Old Airly is at Edinburgh, under caution; so is Balcarras and Dunmore. Stormont is declared fugitive, for not appearing. All these will break out, and many more, when the King lands, or any from him. Most of the gentry on this side the Forth, and many on the other, will do so too. But they suffer mightily in the mean time, and will be forced to submit, if there be not relief sent very soon. The duke of Gordon, they say, wanted nothing for holding out, but hopes of relief. Earl of Dumfermling stays constantly with me, and so does lord Dunkell, Pitcur, and many other gentle-

<sup>1</sup> Bishop Burnet.



men, who really deserve well, for they suffer great hardships. When the troops land, there must be blank commissions sent for horse and foot for them, and others that will join. There must be a commission of justiciary, to judge all but landed men; for there would be examples made of some that cannot be judged by a council of war. They take our people and hang them up, by their new sheriffs, when they find them straggling.

My lord, I have given my opinion to the King concerning the landing. I would first have a good party sent over to Inverlochic, about 5000 or 6000, as you have conveniency of boats; of which, as many horse as conveniently can. About 600 or 800 would do well; but rather more; for had I had horse, for all that yet appeared, I would not have feared them. Inverlochic is safe landing, far from the enemy, and one may chuse, from thence, to go to Murray by Inverness, or to Angus by Athol, or to Perth by Glencoe, and all tolerable ways. The only ill is, the passage is long by sea and inconvenient, because of the island; but, in this season, that is not to be feared. So soon as the boats return, let them ferry over as many more foot as they think fit to the point of Kintyre, which will soon be done; and then the King has all the boats for his own landing. I should march towards Kintyre, and meet at the Neck of Tarbitt, the foot, and so march to raise the country, and then towards the passes of Forth to meet the King, where I doubt not but we would be numerous. I have done all I can to make them believe the King

will land altogether in the West, on purpose to draw their troops from the North, that we may the easier raise the country, if the landing be here. I have said so, and written it to every body; and particularly, I sent some proclamations to my lady Errol, and wrote to her to that purpose, which was intercepted and carried to Edinburgh, and my lady taken prisoner. I believe it has taken the effect I designed; for the forces are marched out of Kintyre, and I am just now informed, M. G. M'Kay is gone from Inverness by Murray towards Edinburgh. I know not what troops he has taken with him as yet; but it is thought, he will take the horse and dragoons, except a few, and most of the standing forces; which, if he do, it will be a rare occasion for landing here, and for raising the country. Then, when they hear of that, they will draw this way, which will again favour the King's landing. Some think Ely a convenient place for landing, because you have choice of what side, and the enemy cannot be on both: others think the nearer Galloway the better, because the rebels will have far to march before they can trouble you: others think Kirkcudbright, or thereabouts, because of that sea for ships, and that it is near England. Nobody expects any landing here now, because it is thought you will alter the design, it having been discovered; and to friends and all, I give out I do not expect any. So I am extremely of opinion, this would be an extreme proper place, unless you be so strong that you need not care where to land. The truth is, I do not admire



their mettle. The landing of troops will confound them terribly. I had almost forgot to tell you that P—— O——,<sup>1</sup> as they say, has written to his Scotch council, telling them he will not have his troops any more harrassed following me through the hills; but orders them to draw to the west, where, he says, a great army is to land; and, at the same time, gives them accounts, that eight sail of men of war is coming from Brest, with 1500 men on board. He knows not whether they are designed for England or Ireland. I beg you will send an express, before whatever you do, that I may know how to take my measures; and, if the express that comes knows nothing, I am sure it shall not be discovered for me. I have told Mr. Hay nothing of this proposal, nor no man. If there come any party this way, I beg you, send us ammunition, and three or four thousand arms of different sorts, some horse, some foot. I have just now received a confirmation of M'Kay's going south, and that he takes with him all the horse and dragoons, and all the standing foot; by which I conclude, certainly, they are preparing against the landing in the West. I entreat to hear from you as soon as possible; and am, in the old manner, most sincerely, for all Carleton can say,

My Lord,  
Your most humble and faithful servant,  
DUNDEE."

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<sup>1</sup> Prince of Orange.

Dundee having received news from Ireland recalled Mr. Hay, whom he had dispatched with the preceding letter, and wrote again to lord Melfort. The copy among Mr. Nairne's papers wants a date, but is marked on the back "My Lord Dundee's letter, June 28, 1689."

*The Viscount Dundee to the Earl of Melfort.<sup>1</sup>*

"My Lord,  
"AFTER Mr. Hay was dispatched I was informed, that Achtera and major Far-char's son were landed, so sent and stopt Mr. Hay and came down here to know what news they brought. I am very glad to hear by your lordship's, that the King's affairs prosper so well and that Derry will be soon ours. But I hear it was not on Monday last. I know not what the matter is; but I would think Mackay's going south and the troops drawing back from Kintyre towards Edinburgh would import some alarm they have got. I have so often written over all that Derry was ours, that now, say what I like they hardly believe, and when I talk of relief out of Ireland, they laugh at it, though I believe ere long they will find it earnest, and then our enemy's confusion will be great. As to the places of landing, I am still of the same mind. For the

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<sup>1</sup> Nairne's Papers, D. N. vol. i. folio. No. 46.



number I must leave to the conveniency you have. The only inconveniency of the delay is, that the honest suffer extremely in the low countrys in the time, and I dare not go down for want of horse, and in part, for fear of plundering all, and so making enemys, having no pay. I wonder you send no ammunition, were it but 4 or 5 barrells. For we have not 20 pound. As to yourself, I have told you freely my opinion and am still of the same mind. You desire I may tell you your faults. I use to see none in my friends, and for to tell you what others find when I do not believe them were to lose time. But I must tell you many of them who complained of you, have carried themselves so, that what they say deserves not much to be noticed. However, they have poisoned the generality with prejudice against you, and England will, I am afraid, be uneasier to you than Scotland. It is the unjustest thing in the world, that not being popular must be an argument to be laid aside by the King. I do really think it were hard for the King to do it; but glorious for you, if once you be convinced that the necessity of the King's affairs requires it, to do it of yourself, and beg it of him. But this only, as I said in my last, in case of great difficulties, and in the way I advised, which I think the King will not refuse you; I mean as to filling up of the place; for the King may have enemys, some by your continuing; but he may put in one who may ruin all, which I am sure, if he gave it to some that pretends, it would I am afraid certainly fall

out. I wonder you could have the least thought that I would concert with any body against you, having parted so good friends. I spoke not to Dunmore since he came from London. I mind not I spoke of you to Bredalbine. I remember when I was endeavouring to make friends for the King in the country and in the convention, many did tell me, that there would be no living if you returned; so when no arguments for you could prevail, I have, may be, to smooth them, said, that if all were well, you would be prevailed with not to meddle any more. I would have written letters of encouragement to all the King has written to from yourself, and assured them of your friendship and satisfied them of your real designs of living and letting live every one in their own way in matters of religion, which would mightily allay, I think, as to Scotland, and let them see you do favours to cavaliers and to Protestants, for some steps, that may be, you was forced to make in favours of these ungrate beasts the Presbyterians. You gave unhappy umbrage to both the other, but they were fools; for never will they get one whose family, education, and inclination, is so cavalier. They long at the King's restoration to have a Lauderdale to destroy Middleton and poor suffering cavaliers. Let not this be their plague. I am sure you shall be sure of all my endeavours for to bring the minds of people to reason. If you will allow, I will say, that though you come to see the King once landed, you design not to stay, unless you think that you may unbolden your enemys.



I give my humble service to my lady, and am.  
My Lord,  
Your most humble and faithful servant,  
DUNDEE."



The following paper is marked on the back,  
"Account of the engagements in Scotland since  
May, 1689, for the Queen."

*"An account of the engagements that hap-  
pened between the King's party and the  
rebels in Scotland since May, 1689."*<sup>1</sup>

December 15th, 1689.

"THE first engagement was betwixt Sir Alex-  
ander M'Leane, with whom were the  
lairds of Lergie and Calchillie, in the island of  
Giga, betwixt Kintyre and Isla, and a squadron of  
the English fleet commanded by captain Ruke, in  
May last, thus.

Sir Alexander and the aforesaid gentlemen with  
400 men were waiting a fair wind to bring them to  
the rendezvous appointed by my lord Dundee, his  
Majesty's lieut. general, and had their small boats  
close to the rocks of the island when they were  
assaulted by the English. The fight began at

<sup>1</sup> Nairne's Papers, D.N. vol. i. fol. No. 43.

8 o'clock in the morning. The English, thinking  
to take and sink the boats, manned six long boats,  
and under shelter of a yaucht they came in pell  
mell amongst the boats, and took a large boat  
belonging to Sir Alexander, that could not be  
brought near the shore; but they were so warmly  
received by the King's party, that the rebels were  
forced to retreat with loss, whereupon the two men  
of war dropped anchor as close to the boats as  
they could come, and fired incessantly with their  
cannon and small shot from 8 o'clock in the morn-  
ing until 8 o'clock at night. At which time Sir  
Alexander divided his boats, and sent one half of  
them round the island one way, and with them the  
yaucht and small boats engaged. They being thus  
out of the way, and the two men of war still at  
anchor, all the rest of the boats came out upon  
them, and in despite of all the English could do,  
they brought all safe away. In this skirmish the  
loyalists lost one boat, and two sunk, and one man  
wounded, but none killed. The rebels had a  
lieutenant and 14 men killed and a great many  
wounded.

The next engagement was in that same month,  
between a party of Sir John M'Leane's regiment  
of 120 men, commanded by M'Leane of Lochbuy,  
against 200 horse and dragoons, commanded by  
col. Livingston, wherein the M'Leanes routed  
the rebels, killed captain Waine, an Englishman,  
and 14 of his party, with the loss of five men  
only.

The battle of Rinrory, in Athol, was the next



considerable engagement after this, which was thus :

The lord Murray, son to the marquis of Athol, having with 1500 men laid siege to the castle Blair, in Athol, then garrisoned for the King (thereof the lairds of <sup>1</sup> and Ballechan were officers) and my lord Dundee being to wait at Lochaber some days for colonel Cannon and the Irish regiment and the other officers, who were come from Ireland to come up to join him ; his Excellency sent orders for Sir Alexander M'Leane (who was then at Cromar in the North, in an expedition against the master of Forbes and other rebels) to march in all haste to relieve the garrison of Blair, and there to wait till his Excellency's arrival. This Sir Alexander so happily performed, that lord Murray was forced to raise the siege ; and major general M'Kay being on his march to second lord Murray, my lord Dundee (upon information thereof) made long marches to prevent him, and arrived at Athol upon the 16th of July, and next morning was informed, that M'Kay's forlorn of 400 men were within two miles of the castle, at the Pass of Kilikrankie. Whereupon his Excellency commanded Sir Alexander M'Lean, with 400 men, to march against this party. But they were not a quarter of a mile off when his lordship was informed, that instead of a party, M'Kay himself with all his army was at Rinrory, within a mile and a half of him.

<sup>1</sup> Left blank in original.

Whereupon his lordship commanded the army to march towards the rebels, resolving, without delay, to fight them. M'Kay's army was drawn up in eight battalions, consisting of 4500 foot and two troops of horse. My lord Dundee's consisted of 2500 foot and one troop of horse. On the right wing Sir John M'Leane was placed with his regiment in two battalions. On the left, was Sir Donald M'Donald's regiment, commanded by his son and Sir George Berkley, in one battalion, and Sir Alexander M'Leane another battalion, made the left wing. The main battle consisted of four battalions, viz. Lochiel's, Glengary, Clanronald, and the Irish regiment, and the troop of horse commanded by Sir William Wallace. The officers that came from Ireland divided themselves among the battalions. The fight began about five o'clock at night, Sir Alexander M'Leane keeping the rebels in action (while my lord was forming the battle), by debating for advantageous posts, therein he lost only five men, but the rebels loss was greater. About eight o'clock the signal was given ; his lordship, charged in person, upon the head of the horse. The Highlanders gave such a furious charge as made the rebels give ground in a moment. For the rebels having spent their fire before the Highlanders fired, (who kept their shot till they were within pike length of the enemy), and after fire the royalists falling in with broad swords, made the rebels run. The left wing of M'Kay's army was quite routed by Sir John M'Leane, who followed the slaughter for a good



way. The like was done by the main battle. But all the opposition to purpose was in the right wing of the rebels. For Sir Alexander M'Leane, having routed M'Kay's regiment, his men followed the pursuit so briskly, that he was left alone himself in the place of battle; and observing colonel Hasting's regiment of foot standing their ground against Sir Donald M'Donald's regiment, and at last forcing them to retire, he rallied as many as he could get of his men, and with Sir Evan Cameron made head towards the rebels who thereupon fled, and the night put a stop to the slaughter.

In this battle there were killed of the rebels upon the place 1500, some say 2000, and the next morning 500 prisoners were brought in by the men of Athol. Those of note killed were brigadier Balfour, and lieutenant colonel M'Kay, brother to the major general, with many more officers of less note; of the prisoners were lieutenant colonel Balfour, captain Ferguson, captain Donaldson, and 13 other officers, with all their camp, tents, baggage, artillery, and provisions, which was of great value, and also the prince of Orange's standard, carried by M'Kay's regiment, taken by Sir Alexander M'Leane.

Of the royalists were killed (to his Majesty's unspeakable loss) the lieutenant general himself, while he was riding to help the confusion he observed in the left wing, occasioned by the gallant resistance of colonel Hasting's regiment against Sir Donald and Sir George Berkley,) the lairds of

<sup>1</sup> Largie, captain M'Donald, brother to Glengarie, captain Ramsay, captain M'Leane, nephew to Sir Alexander, captain Pollock, brother to the laird of Pollock, and some other officers, but very few common soldiers. Sir George Berkley and several other gentlemen were wounded.

Two days after this battle, colonel Cannon, who now commands the army, sent the laird of Struan with 100 foot and some horse, under the conduct of major William Graham, to St. Johnstoun, where they were surprised by some troops of horse of Sir John Lanier's regiment. Major Graham made off in time. But Struan's men were some in their beds, some drunk, and some of them were killed, and 25 taken prisoners; the rest with the laird himself made their escape. This was the beginning of Cannon's conduct.

The last engagement was about 20 days after this, at Dunkell, where there was some 800 of the Cameronians, under the command of colonel Cleaveland and others. Colonel Cannon with the Army arrived at Dunkell the 21st of August, at 7 o'clock in the morning, and surrounded the town, commanding Sir Alexander M'Leane to make the first attack, and so the Highlanders fell on so furiously that they beat the rebels from the walls, and helping one another over the walls entered the town. So that at once the town was set on fire both by them and the rebels, whereby the town for an hour and a half was very hot on both sides.

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<sup>1</sup> Left blank in the original.



At last all the rebels being cut off, except those who got into the castle and the great church, and the Highlanders having spent their ammunition, retired out of the town. In this engagement, on the rebels side were killed Cleaveland himself and almost all their officers, and one hundred and twenty, some say two hundred, of their men. On the King's side were killed two captains of M'Leane's regiment, and Sir Alexander M'Leane's captain lieutenant, and some other officers of note, but few soldiers; but there were a great many wounded, and Sir Alexander M'Leane had his leg broken with a musket bullet, and was carried to the castle of Blair. But upon some distaste taken by the clans at Cannon's conduct, the army broke up and went home; and now they content themselves with incursions, wherewith they have done great prejudice to the rebels, and lately went within seven miles of Glasgow, and destroyed Kilmarnock, etc."



*Lord Dundee's speech to his troops before  
the battle of Killikranksy.<sup>1</sup>*

"Gentlemen,

"YOU are come hither this day to fight, and that in the best of causes: for it is the battle of your King, your religion, and your country,

<sup>1</sup> July, Nairne's Papers, A. L. fol. No. 242.

against the foulest usurpation and rebellion; and having, therefore, so good a cause in your hands, I doubt not but it will inspire you with an equal courage to maintain it. For there is no proportion betwixt loyalty and treason; nor should be any betwixt the valour of good subjects and traitors. Remember, that to-day begins the fate of your King, your religion, and your country. Behave yourselves, therefore, like true Scotchmen; and let us, by this action, redeem the credit of this nation, that is laid low by the treacheries and cowardice of some of our countrymen; in which, I ask nothing of you, that you shall not see me do before you; and, if any of us shall fall upon this occasion, we shall have the honour of dying in our duty, and as becomes true men of valour and conscience; and such of us as shall live and win the battle, shall have the reward of a gracious King, and the praise of all good men. In God's name, then, let us go on, and let this be your word; King James and the church of Scotland, which God long preserve."





Dundee wrote the following letter, giving an account of the battle to King James. He died next morning of the wound which he had received in the action.

*The Viscount Dundee to King James, after the battle of Killikranksy.<sup>1</sup>*

"SIR,

"I T has pleased God to give your forces a great victory over the rebels, in which 3-4ths of them are fallen under the weight of our swords. I might say much of the action, if I had not the honour to command in it; but of 5000 men, which was the best computation I could make of the rebels, it is certain there cannot have escaped above 1200 men. We have not lost full out 900. This absolute victory made us masters of the field and the enemy's baggage, which I gave to the soldiers; who, to do them all right, both officers and common men, Highlands, Lowlands, and Irish, behaved themselves with equal gallantry, to what ever I saw in the hottest battles fought abroad by disciplined armies; and this M'Kay's old soldiers felt on this occasion. I cannot now, Sir, be more particular; but take leave to assure your Majesty, the kingdom is generally disposed for your service, and impatiently wait for your coming, and this success will bring in the rest of the nobility and gentry, having had all their assurances for it, except

<sup>1</sup> Nairne's papers, A. L. ubi supra.

the notorious rebels. Therefore, Sir, for God's sake, assist us, though it be with such another detachment of your Irish forces as you sent us before, especially of horse and dragoons; and you will crown our beginnings with a compleate success, and yourself with an entire possession of your antient hereditary kingdom of Scotland. My wounds forbid me to enlarge to your Majesty at this time, though they tell me they are not mortal. However, Sir, I beseech your Majesty to believe, whether I live or die, I am intirely your's,

DUNDEE."





HISTORICAL REPRINTS.—VII.

NEWS FROM  
Dublin in Ireland.

RELATING HOW

**Golonell Jones,**

Governour of the said City,

**With his Forces, fell upon the Rebels,**

**BEAT THE WHOLE ARMY,**

killed many, some Prisoners taken, with  
much of their provisions and forc'd  
them to a flight.

*In a Letter to a Member of the  
Honourable House of Commons.*

*By H. C.*

**LONDON,**

Printed for *John Wright* at the Kings  
Head in the Old Bayley. 1647.





## News from Dublin in Ireland.

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**I**N my last of the third of this instant I certified you of Colonell *Jones*, the Governour of *Dublin's* taking the field with that small Party of 400 horse here garrisoned; a small Party considering the power of the enemy (now found to have been) 8000. foot, 2000. horse, and a multitude of others, *Owen Roe O Neale* (the Rebels Ulster Generall) was advanced into the heart of these our Garrisons (between us and Trim) and that within a few miles of this place, before the Governour received any intelligence of his moving.

On the third of November, the Governour advanced hence with 400. horse, and 50 Dragoons, and upon advertisement given of a party of the enemies being about Castle-knock (within three miles of Dublin) he made thither, and commanded one Captain *Orwey* (of his owne *Regiment*) with 60. commanded horse as a forlorn hope.

The Governour himself made a halt short of Castel-



knock, understanding that the whole body of the enemies horse and foot lay two miles off at the church of Mallehedard, whereupon he gave orders for returning back to Dublin those Carriages that were following him and that the foot in Dublin should forthwith march towards him, therein preparing for the enemy should he advance towards the City, or to attempt something on him if still quartering at Mallehedard.

At Castleknock aforefaid, there was a party of the enemies horse, and 60. foot sent thither for destroying that part of our quarters; upon sight of our forlorn hope then advancing the enemies horse fled, whom ours pursued up to their maine body at Mallehedard, having in the chase slain and taken 11. Whereupon, anothers party of horse and foot from the body of the enemy were drawn out whom Captain *Oravey*, with those few of our forlorn hope, charged and killed of them above 80. this in full view, and very nigh the whole Army of the Rebels; after which he faced them about one houre, untill it was found that the enemies foot had the while marched away towards Fingall, purposing that night to fire those quarters between Dublin and Dreggheda; which the enemies designs the Governour finding by some prisoners taken, he commanded back Captain *Oravey* with the forlorn hope, who returning towards Castle-knock aforefaid, met with those sixty foot of the enemies before mentioned, fleeing from another party of our horse, most of whom Captain *Oravey* put to the sword.

The Governour forthwith sent to Sir *Henry Titchburne*, (at Trim) for drawing up to him with the horse in the out-quarters, whose coming up to him he expected before he would engage upon so great a body of the Rebels horse and foot.

That night the Governour sent back to Dublin the foot, and having commanded 100. horse towards Feltram for securing the quarters towards the Sea side, and for observing the enemies motion, he himself with the rest of the horse returned back to Dublin, no provision being found neare him for his horse, the enemy having destroyed all.

*Owen O Neale* having the City on the right hand, marched to a place called Dubber, within three miles of Dublin, which he fired, having his head quarters at Kilshaghan, six miles Northward from Dublin; he that night by parties sent out, burnt all the corn about him, making very great spoyle.

Thursday, Novemb. 4. *Owen O Neale* marched to Brasyle (an house belonging to the Lord chief Baron *Bolton*, within Fingall, which he burned, having first from thence by parties sent out, burnt Carduffe (the Lord Chancellours house) and Luske, with what other mischief he could suddenly doe in that part of the country, our Garrison at Swords made good the Bawne there against the Rebels, whereby much Hay prepared for the Oxen of the Trayne was preserved.

This day the Governour again took the field, with his 400. horse (being his whole strength of horse hereabouts) drawing towards the enemy for cutting off



stragglers, of whom many were met withall, and for keeping in the Rebels, all that might be, from destroying the quarters, untill he should heare from Sir Henry Titchburne, which he hourly expected but all that day he heard nothing of him; that night the Governour quartered at Donfinke, within three miles from the enemy, who that night quartered at *Wegan-stoune*.

This day about 12 of the clock newes was brought to the Governour of Sir Henry Titchburnes coming up with Col. Ponsonby, Col. Coote, and Sir Thomas Armstrongs Regiments of Horse, which with the Governours party made up a body of 1400 horse: Whereupon the Governour forthwith about midnight sent orders to Dublin for the Foot to draw out, and with all speed to advance towards him, appointing the Rendezvouze the next morning at Pierces Towne, eight miles from Dublin, purposing by crossing the Countrey to stop Owen O Neale in his march back, being informed that he had been then at Baldengan towards the sea side, purposing to bend towards Droghedah quarters for spoyling thereabouts as elsewhere he had done.

But the Rebels having intelligence of the coming up of the Horse to the Governour, and of the marching of the Foot, he suddenly changed his course, marching back again by Crixtowne, Kilbrewe, and Ratoth, burning as he went. This he did betimes on Friday morning the fifth of this instant. Our Foot not being yet come up as was expected, the Governour with his Horse following, the Enemy, coming up within a mile

of him, and sending out parties to engage the Enemy in some fort untill the coming up of our Foot; but the Rebels marched off as fast as they could, our men killing many of them, and from out their body took away some Cattell.

This night the Rebels made shew of quartering at a place called Clunmullin neere a bogge side, where the Governour had hope he might gain time of falling in upon him if his Foot had come up.

This night our Foot from Dublin, about 3000, came up to Pierces Towne, where had they come sooner, it was hoped, by the blessing of God, the Rebels power in Leinster had been quite broken.

The Governour had that night sent out severall parties to allarm the Enemy, thereby to ingage them untill he could with his Foot march up towards them; but the enemy having made shew of quartering that night at Clunmullen, riseth in the night, marching away with all the speed he could possible.

Saturday the sixth, the Governour followes him with Horse and Foot, sending out parties severall waies to stop him in his course, but the Rebels had that day not rested untill they had gotten over the black Ford beyond Clon-Curry into *Briminghams* Countrey, a place boggy and woody, and to them of great advantage.

The Governour hereupon leaving the Foot at Balfeham, 13 miles from Dublin; he the seventh followed the Enemy with the horse; but the Rebels marching all the night before, had betimes this morning recovered their former retiring place at Castle-



Jordan. This night the Governour came back to the Foot at Bulfegham, and the next day, having dismissed his additional Forces, he with the rest marched back to Dublin.

The Enemy lost 500 of their men, and in their great haste cast off many of their Knapacks and baggage which ours took up. It was not for the Governour to engage his horse, they not having a grain of Oats, nor money, or Quarters, for eight weeks before, neither any thing else but what they gained by daily inroads upon the enemies quarters, whereby the horse were so worn out, that had not necessity enforced, they had not been fit to appear in service, therefore was it not safe to engage them especially severed from the foot, against so great a power of the Enemies horse and Foot, wherein had there been any miscarriage, this city and Province had been undoubtedly lost, and the whole *Kingdom* endangered. And here I must give you the Governours words to me discoursing of this, That although he should have the fortune with his horse alone, to have defeated the power of the enemies, yet he deserved to suffer for hazarding so lightly so many and great interests, knowing the weakness of his horse, but after the coming up of his foot he doubted not then to put all to a day, though the Rebels were many to one, and had done it, had it been possible to overtake that cowardly and runaway Enemy. You have, Sir, in this the perfectest and most distinct account I can give of these particulars, wherein you have in short the

whole state of the party here, not to be kept together, wanting wherewithall so to keep them, and being dispersed, as of necessity they must be for a subsistence, they or the Country lying open to spoil, before an Enemy entering almost our very gates, can be disputed with. Sir, it is there to put us into a condition whereby these evils may be prevented, and for enabling yours here to serve you as they earnestly desire. By Captaine *Pierce*, one of ours being prisoner with the Rebels at Kilkenny, returned hither on exchange, the Governour hath been given to understand that the common voice at Kilkenny was, That Sir *Bryon O Neale*, here resident, is one serviceable to the Enemy in the way of intelligence, whereupon he is committed, the Governour expecting, I believe, directions thence for disposing of him. Pardon this great boldness of Sir

*Your Most assured to serve you,*

Dublin 10. Novemb.

1647.

H. C.

Novemb. 22 *Imprimatur Gilb. Mabbot.*

FINIS.







HISTORICAL REPRINTS.—VIII.

The  
Rye House Plot:

BEING

His Majesty's Declaration to all  
His Loving Subjects con=  
cerning the Treasonable  
Conspiracy lately  
discovered.

ORDERED TO BE PRINTED BY HIS  
MAJESTY.

*Printed by W. B. [unclear] — King — Charles 2*

IN THE SAVOY :

PRINTED, AND ARE TO BE SOLD BY  
E. WHITLOCK, near Stationers' Hall.

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large paper copies.*



A TRUE ACCOUNT

OF THE

*Horrid Conspiracy against the King  
and the Government.*

~~~~~

THE KING has thought fit to lay open, and to declare to the World, An Exact Account of the late Accursed Conspiracy, which was actually form'd, and carried on in *England*, and set on foot in *Scotland*, against His own, and his only and dearest Brothers Life, and against the Peaceable and Flourishing Government of His Majesties Kingdoms; as far forth, as hitherto the Particulars of it have come to His knowledge, by the Voluntary Confessions, or undeniable Convictions of divers of the Principal Conspirators.

By this faithfully representing the plain Matter of Fact, though perhaps all the Groundless Suggestions, and Malicious Insinuations of Factious Men, will not be wholly put to silence; it being their old, and con-



stant Artifice, to support, and encourage their Party, by Impudent Slanders and Falshoods, against the clearest Light, and most evident Proof: Yet however His Majesty will have the Satisfaction hereby to confirm the Loyalty, and good Affections of all His loving Subjects at Home, and to establish Abroad the Reputation, and Honour of His Royal Justice.

And moreover (which His Majesty most of all regards) this Publick, and Lasting Testimony will be given of His sincere Thankfulness to Almighty God, for that Miraculous Deliverance from a Danger, which came so near His Sacred Person, and was so far spread in the Ruine, it threaten'd to all His people.

It is well known, what mischievous Arts of late Years have been used, and what Treasonable Courses taken, to withdraw these Nations from their bounden Duty and Allegiance, and to expose His Majesties most Just, and Merciful Government to Calumny and Contempt: The Rebellious Design having been apparently carried on by all sorts of Malecontents; whom either their Crimes, or Wants, their furious Zeal, or unbounded Ambition, inclined to wish for a Disturbance of the Peace, and Prosperity, which His Majesties Dominions have so long enjoy'd, to the Envy of all His Neighbours.

To this wicked purpose, many the very same fatal Methods and specious Pretences, which, in the Days of His Majesties Glorious Father, had involved these Kingdoms in Confusion and Blood, were once again revived, and by many the very same Persons; Men of

crafty, restless, and implacable Spirits; impenitent after the most Gracious Pardons; whom long Experience had made skilful in seducing weak, and unstable Minds, by counterfeiting the plausible Names of things in themselves most excellent, but most dangerous when abused; such as Liberty, Property, Conscience, and Religion.

By these wretched Instruments, was this most gentle, and benign Government again reproached with Tyranny, and Arbitrary Power: The Church of *England* was once more Traduced, as Popishly affected: The most able Officers, and faithfullest Servants of the Crown again Reviled, under the odious Title of Evil Councillours.

In the mean time Sedition and Schism were every where promoted; unreasonable Fears suggested; vain Suspensions of future Dangers augmented to destroy the present Tranquility; desperate Speeches, infamous Libels, Traiterous Books swarm'd in all places; and under colour of the only True Protestant, the worst of all Unchristian Principles were put in practice; all the old Republican, and Antimonarchical Doctrines, whose Effects had formerly prov'd so dismal, were now again as confidently own'd, and asserted, as ever they had been during the hottest Rage of the late unhappy Troubles.

From these Preparations to a new Rebellion, the Party began by degrees to proceed to Action. Distinctions of Sides were made: Names, and Tokens of Separation were given: Illegal Conventicles were main-



tained, in defiance of the Laws of God, and Man : Tumultuous Feasts, and Factious Clubs were set up in City, and Country : Cloſe, and Seditious Meetings haunted : Frequent Cabals appointed, and by Men of high degree with the loweſt : Great Stores of Arms provided by private Perſons : Insolent Progreſſes made through divers Countries ; thereby to glory in their Numbers, and to carry far and near the Terrour of their Power, and even to Muſter their Party ready for ſome ſudden Blow, or general Infurrection.

All theſe, and many more ſuch Perſonal Indignities, and Publick Affaults on the Government, His Majeſty long endured with the ſame Mildneſs, and Clemency, wherewith he had already forgiven the higheſt Crimes againſt himſelf ; His Royal Goodneſs ſtill patiently expecting, and wiſhing, that in time the moſt obſtinate of his miſguided Subjects would ſee their Error, and return at length to a ſenſe of the Duty, they owe him by all the ſtrongest Bands of Nature and Laws, Religion and Gratitude, that can poſſibly oblige Subjects towards a Sovereign.

But when His Majeſty was abundantly convinc'd that all thoſe dark Conſultations, and open Tumults of unruly Men, were but ſo many infallible Signs, and Forerunners of Rebellion, or ſome extraordinary Commotions ; Then at laſt, in a tender reſpect to his Peoples Safety, more than to his own, was His Majeſty conſtrain'd to awaken his Authority, to try what good Effect the Vigour of his Laws would have on thoſe Offenders, with whom all his repeated Mercy and Indulgence had ſo little prevail'd.

Yet ſuch was then His Majeſties hard Fortune, ſo firmly combined were the Diſaffected, eſpecially by their Prevalent Intereſt in packing the Juries of *London* and *Middleſex*, that whiſt His Majeſty carefully endeavour'd to diſtribute Impartial Juſtice to all his Subjects, he could not obtain the ſame Right Himſelf ; his Enemies ſtill becoming more numerous, and united in thoſe very places, where their deſperate Enterpriſes againſt the Government, were likely to be moſt ſudden and pernicious.

Amongſt divers other infamous Examples of this Nature, was that of *Colledge* the Joyner. For though the Criminal was ſo mean a Man, and no other ways conſiderable, but for his audacious Forwardneſs in affronting the Government ; yet His Majeſty, with all His Royal Authority, could hardly prevail to have him brought to a Fair and Legal Tryal. Nor had His Majeſty been able at laſt to procure ſo much Juſtice to be done had not the Proceſs been removed into another County, where (the Rulers of the Faction being leſs powerful,) that new and damnable Opinion and Practice of the Lawfulneſs of Equivocating and even of Perjury for the *Good Old Cauſe*, had not prevailed over the old and honeſt English Principles of Truth and Honour.

However though in the end His Majeſties Juſtice got the better at that time, yet it was defeated in a greater and more important Inſtance, that of the late Earl of *Shaſtesbury* ; who had been long and reaſonably ſuſpected, and in the iſſue was manifeſtly diſcovered to be the chief Author, and ſupreme Manager of all theſe



Traiterous Contrivances against his Majesties Crowns and Life.

The said Earl His Majesty had formerly pardon'd, enrich'd, enobled, and advanc'd to one of the highest Stations in the Kingdom; by a long Succession of manifold Bounties, endeavouring to render his Abilities, and Experience in Business, serviceable to his King, and beneficial to his Country.

Yet so treacherous and undermining was his Genius; so unmeasurable his Ambition; so impatient of quiet, and moderate Courses; so much fitter he was to be the Instrument of a Tyrant, than the Servant of a Just and Good Prince; that after many hainous Infidelities and Offences committed by him, and forgiven by his Majesty, he was at length necessitated to discharge him his Service; yet so as to leave him one of the most considerable Peers in the Kingdom for Title and Estate.

But his aspiring and revengeful Spirit could not brook so gentle a disgrace. Wherefore having deservedly been dismiss'd the Court, he presently attempted to set the Country directly against it. Immediately he profess'd himself the most zealous true Protestant, and the greatest Patriot; Thereby slyly insinuating his designs into the Heads of all Sects and Divisions in Church and State: To them betraying some, vilifying others; maliciously interpreting all His Majesties Counsels; Making those very Consultations, and resolutions of State, whereof he had been the chief Adviser, when he was in Power, to be the principal Ob-

jections against the Government, when he was displaced.

Thus he and his party went boldly on to disturb the Publick Quiet, and to affront His Majesties Authority with the highest Insolence: In Words and Writings defaming it, as Arbitrary and Tyrannical, whilst in Deeds he insulted over it, as believing it to be weak, and resolving to make it despicable. And all this with a secure confidence not only of Indemnity, but Success; Knowing himself to be under the protection of Juries of his own appointment or approbation: And therefore presuming he was far out of the reach of His Majesties just Indignation.

And so for a time it unhappily proved. For being legally indicted of Crimes of the highest Nature; though the Evidence against him was clear, and positive; some of the Witnesses being the very same Men, whose Testimony had been approv'd of, in the prosecution of *Oats's* Plot; And the very Original draught of a treasonable Association having been actually found in his Custody; yet he could not be brought to a Lawful Trial by his Peers, the Indictment being stifled by a shameful *Ignoramus*; and that accompanied with so much Insolence, that the very Ministers of His Majesties Justice were in much more danger than the Criminal, and hardly escap'd the rude Assaults of his Confederates and Party.

However, from so great a Violation of Common Right, and of the Royal Dignity, His Majesty gain'd this very considerable Advantage, That thenceforth he



plainly perceived the main Strength of all his Enemies Arrogance lay in their Extravagant Power to pack the City-Juries. For what Treason might not the Earl of *Shaftesbury* securely Project, or *Ferguson* Write, or an Association Act against the Government, whilst *Good-enough*, and a settled Club, was at hand with their Corrupt Pannels, to Indemnifie, and if need were, to second and applaud their most Villanous Practices?

Wherefore His Majesty foreseeing how destructive, in time, the Effects of so great and growing a Mischief would be, resolv'd at length, after a many Intolerable Provocations, to strike at that which he had now found to be the very Root of the Faction.

This His Majesty, and all wise and good Men perceiv'd, could be no other ways done, than first by reducing the Elections of the Sheriffs of *London* to their Antient Order and Rules, that of late were become only a Business of Clamour and Violence: And then to make Inquiry into the Validity of the City-Charter itself; which an ill Party of Men had abus'd to the Danger, and would have done it to the Destruction of the Government, had they been suffer'd to go on never so little farther uncontroul'd.

In both these most just and necessary Undertakings, the Righteousness of His Majesties Cause met with an answerable Success. First, notwithstanding all the Tumultuous Riots the Factious Party committed, to disturb the peaceable Issue of that Affair; yet the undoubted Right of the Lord Mayor's Nominating the eldest Sheriff, was restored and established: And so the

Administration of Justice once more put in a way of being cleared from Partiality and Corruption. And then a due Judgment was obtain'd, by an equal Process of Law, against the Charter itself, and its Franchises declared forfeited to His Majesty.

But though this happy Event of His Majesties Controversie with the disaffected part of the City of *London*, was in all Humane probability, the only effectual Course to provide for the future Peace, and Stability of the Government; yet it had like to have proved a present Occasion of its utter Ruine.

For when so many guilty Persons found, that the great Point of the Sheriffs was resettled on its Antient Bottom, and the City-Charter itself in hazard of being speedily vacated; so that now there would be no farther evasion for them, by any pretence of Law, to escape unpunish'd: Then they concluded it was high time to bring their Devilish Purposes to a quicker issue, and once for all to strike boldly at the Heart of the KING and Kingdom.

Particularly the Earl of *Shaftesbury*, being conscious to himself of the blackness of his Crimes, and of the Iniquity of the Verdict, by which he had for that time escaped; and finding he was now within the compass of the Justice he had so lately frustrated and contemn'd, thenceforth gave over all his quieter and more plausible Arts of Sedition, whereby he proudly bragg'd he should, in time, as his Expression was, *Leisurely walk his Majesty out of his Dominions*; and on a sudden betook himself to more precipitate Enterprizes: Alarming his



Companions with a prospect of their common danger; thence inflaming some to Insurrections, others to Assassinations; supposing now there was no way left for him, or them, to justify their former Misdemeanors and Treasons, but by attempting and succeeding in greater Mischiefs.

This was found by evident Proof to have been the principal rise and occasion of ripening the Horrid Conspiracy in the Kingdom of *England*. Nor could there possibly have happen'd a stronger Justification of His Majesties Counsels in attempting to rectifie the City-Juries and Elections; since it is apparent his principal Enemies laid so much stress on the unjust Power they had therein usurp'd, that, being once fairly driven from that Strength, they immediately resolv'd, nothing less than a barefac'd and avow'd Rebellion could repair the Loss their Party sustain'd by so great a Blow.

As for His Majesties Kingdom of *Scotland*, it is notorious there has been long shelter'd in it a desperate Faction of furious Zealots, that under the old Professions of the Cause of Christ, and a purer way of Gospel-Worship, has grown up by degrees to a Violation at last, not only of all the Rules and Institutions of true Religion, but of common Humanity. For does not the whole Christian World at this day behold with Horror, that the most Villanous Tenets of the fiercest Scottish Covenanters, and even of their Remonstrators, have been out-done by their Successors and Disciples in the Field-Meetings, and Armed Conventicles? Have they not thence proceeded to all the

Execrable Rage of Rapine and Violence? In so much that some of them have lived and died glorying in the most barbarous Murders, and basest Cruelties; refusing obstinately with their last Breath, so much as to pray for His Majesty, or to say, *God save the King*; though by an unexampled Mercy, they had their Pardons assur'd to them at the very place and moment of their Execution, upon that single Condition.

And besides the remains of those Bloody Enthusiasts, whose Principles are not yet entirely extinguish'd, though their force has been twice vanquish'd in open Field, by Gods Providence prospering His Majesties Arms; It is certain also the Peace of that Kingdom has of late been much indanger'd by other great Numbers of Factious and Seditious Spirits, who, though at first they would not venture to incourage publicly the others declared Treasons, yet stuck not secretly to favour and foment their Cause, and as the event infallibly proves, would soon have Own'd and Headed their Fury, had it prosper'd.

Wherefore the wise care of former Sessions of Parliament there, having sufficiently provided by a due severity of Good Laws, against the dreadful Consequences of continuing the Field-Meetings; for the farther securing the Reformed Religion, and the Ancient Rights of the Crown and the Royal Family in that Kingdom, it was judg'd advisable, by the Wisdom of His Majesties great Council, the last Session of Parliament, to appoint and Authorise a Solemn Test to be taken by all Persons in place of publick Trust, or Power.



In that Session the Test was soon pass'd into an Act of State, without any considerable opposition: Though there were not wanting some turbulent Men in the Assembly, who took that occasion of shewing, how ill they were affected to the establish'd Government of their Country; Which they could have no other inducement to be, but either a desire of Commotions, by reason of the desperate State of their own ill-spent Fortunes, or Envy at the better Condition of Honester Men, or some inveterate Contagion of Treason, derived down to them from the last unhappy Age of Confusions.

Of that unquiet and seditious Party, the chief and declared Head was the late Earl of *Argyle*, who during the very sitting of the Parliament, had, by many indirect ways, attempted to hinder His Majesties Service; the said Earl, and the then President of the Session, and their Complices taking their opportunity, in wording the Test, to add thereto all the very same Clauses, that have, since given any Colour of scruple to themselves. But when all his crafts for obstructing the Bill were defeated by the far greater Number of well disposed Members, the Loyal Voters for it being at least Ten to one of the disaffected; then no sooner was the Parliament adjourn'd, but the said Earl of *Argyle*, first at *Edinburgh*, next in traversing several Shires, did make it his Chief Business to insinuate every where, into the minds of the Clergy and Laity, the most malicious prejudices imaginable against the whole Tenour of the Test.

And afterwards on his return to *Edinburgh* he often presumptuously declared, he would either not take it at all, or take it only with a reserve of his own explanation; which he put in Writing and dispers'd: the contrivance of it being such, as dissolves all the Obligations of the Oath, and makes his own present Fancy and private Opinion, the only Standard, whereby he meant to be guided in all the publick Duties of his Loyalty and Allegiance.

At length His Majesties High Commissioner the *Duke*, and the Privy Council of that Kingdom, having been well inform'd of the said Earls seditious Carriage in City and Country, and being fully confirm'd in their Judgments and Consciences of his Trayterous Purposes, in that fallacious and equivocating Paraphrase on the Test, which he own'd in their presence, perverting thereby the sound sense, and eluding the force of His Majesties Laws, in order to set the Subjects loose from their Obedience, and to perpetuate Schism in the Church, and Faction in the State: Upon these Grounds, he was most deservedly Prosecuted by His Majesties Advocate, before the Sovereign Justice-Court, according to the known Laws of his Country; and after a full and equal Tryal, he was found guilty of Treason, by the Learned Judges, and a Jury not only of his Peers, but also many of them his own nearest Relations.

Soon after Judgment given, albeit the King was far from any thought of taking away his Life, and that no farther prejudice was design'd against him, but the



forfeiture of some Jurisdictions and Superiorities, which he and his Predecessors had surreptitiously acquired, and most tyrannically exercis'd; besides the disposal of part of his Estate to pay his just Creditors, and some few moderate Donatives to those, whom he and his Father had formerly ruin'd for their Fidelity to His Majesty, the Surplusage being intended entirely to return, and descend to his Family; yet the said Earl abusing the great Freedom indulg'd him in Prison, (which he enjoy'd as largely after his Condemnation, as before) fled from His Majesties Mercy, the knowledge of his own Guilt not suffering him to venture on that Clemency, whereof he had before participated so plentifully, when he was under the like sentence of Condemnation.

The King however, notwithstanding this new Provocation, still retain'd the same benign thoughts of favouring his Wife and Children. And before it was known that the said Earl had more Debt on his Estate than the full value of it amounted to, (which really was his Case) His Majesty was graciously pleas'd, in one Royal Large's, to give thrice more of the Inheritance to his Posterity, than their Father could lawfully have done, had it never been forfeited.

But how ill he deserv'd, or requited so many Acts of Grace and Bounty, will appear by the sequel of his Behaviour after his Escape. For instead of doing what his Complices and Dependants gave out he intended, that he would humbly cast himself at His Majesties Feet, and implore his Pardon, which he, of all Men

living, had no reason to think desperate, he is no where to be found, but associating with His Majesties implacable Enemies in the Head of new Machinations of Treason, employs his Liberty abroad in maintaining Traiterous Correspondences at Home, with restless Malice exciting the wicked Conspirators of both Kingdoms to a fatal Union against the Life, Government and Family of his Liege Sovereign and Benefactor.

And all this is to be proven upon him by Arguments as clear as the Sun, by the Credit of his own Authentick Letters, and by the plain Depositions of his principal Messengers and Agents in the whole Villany.

By this brief Recollection of the troubled State of Affairs, and the Tumultuous Temper of ill Mens Minds, in His Majesties Kingdoms of *England* and *Scotland*, about the time when this treasonable Conspiracy was in agitation, the impartial World may perceive, from what destructive seeds of Sedition, private Passions and Animosities, under the disguise of Religion and the publick Interest, so Monstrous a Birth was produced.

In the wonderful Discovery of which detestable Confederacy, and in the happy Prevention of its dire Effects, as all who have heard of it, must acknowledge that a signal care of Gods Providence has appear'd, for His Majesties and these Nations Preservation: So His Majesty gives the Sacred Word and Protestation of a King, that nothing has been done, on his part,



but what was agreeable to that Royal Benignity and Natural Candor of his whole Life, whereof all the World, even his Enemies, have had such undoubted Experience.

The members of the Confederacy were the Earl of Shaftsbury, the Duke of Monmouth, Lord Gray of Wark, the Earl of Essex, Mr John Hambden the Younger, Colonel Romzey, Richard Rumbald and his brother; in Scotland, Sir Patrick Hume of Polwart, the Lord Melvil, Hugh Scot and others.

Many propositions were made as to when the Royal Brothers should be attacked.

But all these other propositions, as subject to far more Casualties and Hazards, soon gave place to that of the *Rye* in *Hartfordshire*: A House then inhabited by the forefaid *Richard Rumbald*; who propos'd that to be the Seat of the Action, offering himself to Command the Party, that was to do the Work. Him therefore, as their most daring Captain, and by reason of a Blemish in one of his Eyes, they were afterwards wont, in Common Discourse, to call *Hannibal*: Often Drinking Healths to *Hannibal and his Boys*; meaning *Rumbald* and his Hellish Crew.

The commodiousness of the *Rye* for any such desperate Enterprize soon encourag'd them to fix it there: Its lonely and retir'd Situation, and the Inclosures about it being such as would afford all advantages imaginable to the Assailants, and give as great Inconveniences to the Persons attacked.

The place being agreed on, it was first question'd,

whether the stroke should be struck, upon His Majesties going to, or coming from *Newmarket*: But it was thought more expedient to defer it till His Majesties return.

That Point being over, they had several Meetings, to consult of all the Circumstances of the Parricide.

The Number of the Men to be personally engaged were Forty at Least, to that end two or three Lists of Names were drawn up, out of which the choice was to be made, and the Roll was neer completed.

The Arms to be used were Blunderbusses, Muskets, Pistols, Carabines. To get them down thither without suspicion, many ways were thought on. One, to put them up in Chests, and bring them by Land in Carts. Another, to hide them in a Boat, under Coals, or Oysters, or such common Lading, and so to convey them up the River of *Ware*. Another, that every one concern'd should go down privily Arm'd, and so all Travelling in small Parties, scatter'd, and at their leisure, they might easily meet unperceived about the *Rye*; at the time prefixt.

When the Fatal Hour should approach, the attempt was agreed to be made in this manner: Some one or two were to be sent forth on the Road towards *Newmarket*, to discover in which Coach the King came, and what Company attended him; which they well knew was commonly no more than some six of the Guards; and those also were suppos'd to have their Horses weak, and almost tired by that time they came thither, so near *Hodsdon*, one of the usual Stages where



His Majesty was wont to change Coaches and Guards.

Upon warning thus given of the Kings being near at hand, all were to be in readiness within the House and Yards to issue forth in a moment, some on Horseback, some on Foot.

Immediately upon the Coaches coming within the Gates and Hedges about the House, the Conspirators were to divide into several Parties: Some before in the habit of Labourers were to overthrow a Cart in the narrowest passage, so to prevent all possibility of escape: Others were to fight the Guards, *Walcot* chusing that part upon a Punctilio of Honour: Others were to shoot at the Coach-man, Postilion and Horses: Others to aim only at His Majesties Coach, which Party was to be under the particular direction of *Rumbald* himself; the Villain declaring before-hand, That upon that occasion he would make use of a very good Blunderbuss, which was in *West's* possession, most blasphemously adding, that *Ferguson* should first consecrate it.

It is indeed a thing prodigious to tell, and were it not for the undeniable proofs of it, very difficult to be believ'd, that not only one or two such Furies should rise up in a whole Age, but that so great a Number of Men should, in the same time and place, be found so void of all Humanity, as not only to imagine and contrive so horrid a Fact, but to discourse of it in so many Meetings, so sportfully and merrily as they did, as if the cruellest Tragedy which wicked Men or the Devil ever invented, had been only a matter of common pas-

time and loose raillery. Thus when at one of their Consults *West* invited *Rumzey* to be Godfather to his Child, he answered, *He would, if he might be allow'd to call him Brutus.* And when it was once propos'd to Kill the King and the Duke at the *Play-House*, by blowing up the whole Audience with them, *Ferguson* approved the way, and impudently said, *That then they would Die in their own Calling.* And when some objected against it, *That by this means the Innocent would perish with the Nocent;* another justified it, saying, *What did the Jack-Darvis do amongst the Rooks?* And when some propos'd that to give a better colour to what they did, the King and Duke should not be killed, but only seiz'd and brought to Tryal, after that the People had got the better; It was answer'd by *Ferguson*, *That it was never thought Injustice to shoot, or set Traps for Wolves and Tygers.*

The execrable Deed being thus suppos'd by them to be feasible without much Opposition, they then farther consider'd the several ways of their escaping afterwards. Sometimes they thought of retreating towards *Cambridgehire*, and scattering there; sometimes of retiring into the *Rye-House*, which being guarded with a Moat, and Brick-Walls, they doubted not to defend it against the frighted Country People for some Hours till Night, when they might shift for themselves, and disperse. Another way that *Rumbald* himself propos'd, was to lead them out of the great Road through the Meadows, which were to be gallop'd all along; so that they might with ease come into *London*



by *Hackney-Marsh*, before the News of what was done could possibly get thither. It was concluded at the same time, that divers Lords, and principal Men of their Party, should be invited to an Entertainment that very day in the City, that they might be upon the place to Head the Faction at the first arrival of the News.

But whilst they were thus wholly intent on this barbarous Work, and proceeded securely in its Contrivance, without any the least doubt of a prosperous success; Behold! on a sudden God miraculously disappointed all their Hopes and Designs, by the terrible Conflagration unexpectedly breaking out at *Newmarket*. In which extraordinary event, there was one most remarkable passage, that is not so generally taken notice of, as for the Glory of God, and the Confusion of His Majesties Enemies it ought to be.

For after that the approaching fury of the Flames had driven the King out of his own Palace, His Majesty at first removed into another Quarter of the Town, remote from the Fire, and as yet free from any annoyance of Smoke and Ashes. There His Majesty finding he might be tolerably well accommodated, had resolved to stay, and continue his Recreations as before, till the Day first named for his Journey back to *London*. But His Majesty had no sooner made that resolution, when the Wind, as conducted by an invisible Power from above, presently chang'd about, and blew the Smoke and Cinders directly on his new Lodgings, making them in a moment as untenable as the other. Upon this, His Majesty being put to a

new shift, and not finding the like Conveniency elsewhere, immediately declared he would speedily return to *Whitehal*; as he did: which happening to be several days before the Assassines expected him, or their preparations for the *Rye* were in readiness, it may justly give occasion to all the World to acknowledge what one of the very Conspirators could not but do, *That it was a Providential Fire.*

FINIS.





Historical Reprints.—IX.

THE

# IMPOSTOR

PAINTED IN HIS OWN COLOURS;

OR,

The base Birth and Parentage

OF THE

CHEVALIER DE ST GEORGE.

ALIAS THE

## PRETENDER,

*Now truly brought to Light;*

AND

*Made Publick to deter Jacobites and Tories  
from Endeavouring to Exchange our  
happy Constitution, Liberty and  
Property, for Arbitrary  
Power, Slavery and  
Wooden Shoes.*

---

HOC VOLO, SIC JUBEÓ.      JUV. SAT. VI.

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*This Reprint is limited to 200 small-paper and 50  
large-paper copies.*



### To the Reader.

I AM not forgetful of a certain Person, who some years since asserted the Pretender to be the Son of the Duke of Tyrconnel and one Mrs Gray, murder'd a little before her Child-bearing, at a Nunnery in France. Again, the Author of that Narrative says, He found out the Mystery of the Warming-Pan, by his serving in the Quality of a Page at the Marchioness of Powis; but being well assured, that Mr. William Fuller, at the time when the Pretender was born, was an Apprentice to a Coney-Wool-Cutter in Shoe-Lane, in London; my Faith will not give any Credit to what he formerly writ on this Matter.

Nevertheless, I can do no otherwise than own the Chevalier de St. George, commonly known by the Name of the Pretender, to be an illegitimate Child, because a spurious \* Account which I found of his Birth in the Study of a learned Jesuit,

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\* *Sic.*



makes out his Pedigree very plain. The Manuscript of this surprizing Secret was penned by Mr Polton, of the Order of the Society of Jesus, from the Mouth of Father Peters, when he once confessed him, and gave him Absolution, as being near the point of Death, at Abbeville in France.

Afterwards Mr Polton, (noted for the great Controversies held betwixt him, and his Grace the present Archbishop of Canterbury, about the Doctrine of Transubstantiation, and other erroneous Points of Faith maintain'd by the Church of Rome) resided at Fouchial, the chief Town of Madera, an Isle in Africk, Tributary to the King of Portugal, and in a Voyage which I made to the West Indies in 1692-3, our Ship touch'd there to take in fresh Water; where going ashore, it was my Fortune to meet with this Gentleman coming out of a Nunnery, who was mightily overjoy'd to see me, because I had once been his Pupil in England.

He takes me to his Lodgings, where turning over his Books, in one of them I found an Account of the Birth and Parentage of this Impostor, whose Insolence threatens us at this juncture with an Invasion; and surreptitiously carrying it on Board with me, transcrib'd the Original, which I return'd again to the Owner, who was not a little surpriz'd at this Discovery of a Cheat, well known to Father Peters; who springing from Ignatius

Loyola, his Profession made him a half Key to open Princes Cabinets, to pry into their Counsels; and where the Pope's Excommunication Thunders, he could hold it no more a Sin to dethrone Kings, than to make a general Massacre among Hereticks.

Mr. Polton us'd all his rhetorical Flourishes to inveigle me out of my Copy; but finding all his pathetick Insinuations in vain, he conjur'd my Secrecy, and could not be easie till I had solemnly promis'd him never to divulge the following Account of the Pretender, on whose Life the Romish See had great hopes to establish Popery in Great-Britain once more; but it is the Utinam of every good Protestant, that the Cherubim's flaming sword will keep the Pope out of this Island, which he, by his Apostacy hath justly forfeited and lost, till Time shall be swallow'd up in Eternity. And to conclude,—That which hath induced me to send this Narrative into the World, is Loyalty to my lawful Sovereign King George, Veneration for the Church of England, and a real Love for my Country; which, by means of the present Administration, will be made happy for ever.







## THE IMPOSTOR

*Painted in his own Colours, &c.*

I WILL not speak of the Assassination-Plot in the Reign of King William the Third, for which Sir William Perkins, Sir John Friend, Charnock, Keys, Cranborn, and others were executed at Tyburn; I shall proceed to hint on the unparallel'd Baseness of King James the Second, who was so much bigotted to the Church of Rome, to Establish Popery in this Kingdom, and endeavoured to disinherit his own lawfully begotten Children, by trumping up an Impostor on us; as you shall hear now by the Sequel of this Narrative.

When the great Nassau came to deliver Great Britain and Ireland from Slavery and Arbitrary Power, the evil Counsellors of King James being

forc'd to fly beyond Sea, among them Father Peters made his escape, and being taken desperately ill of a Fever at Abbeville in France, he sent for one Andrew Polton, a Jesuit, who had then but lately been Chief Pedagogue of the first or head School erected in the Seminary in the Savoy, by the said King James; no sooner was he come to his Chamber, but all the Company being desired by the sick Person to depart the same, then addressing himself to Mr Polton, he told him his Sickness rather increased on him than diminish'd, wherefore he was willing to make his Confession to him, which he requested he would pen down *verbatim*.

"Dear Brother, of the same Society with me, and not unworthy of meriting the Fellowship of St. Ignatius de Loyola, our Founder, you cannot be insensible of my endeavouring, when I was a Privy Counsellor to the unfortunate King James, to subvert and extirpate the Protestant Religion, and the Laws and Liberties of all his Kingdoms. In order thereto, I, and some others of the Privy Council, advis'd him to assume and exercise a dispensing Power, by suspending the Execution of Laws without Consent of Parliament. We advis'd him to commit the Archbishop of Canterbury, Bishop of St Asaph, Bishop of Ely, Bishop of Chichester, Bishop of Bath and Wells, Bishop of Peterborough, and Bishop of Bristol to the



Tower; to erect a Court of Commissioners for Ecclesiastical Causes, to levy Money for the Use of the Crown, by pretence of Prerogative; to raise and keep a Standing Army in time of Peace; to quarter Soldiers contrary to Law; to disarm Protestants; to violate the Freedom of Election of Members to serve in Parliament; to return Jurors in Tryals for High-Treason, who were not Freeholders; to require excessive Bail of Persons committed in criminal Cases; to impose excessive Fines, and to inflict illegal and cruel Punishments on Persons who were not of our side.

"But above all, to establish Popery for ever in Great Britain, and all the Dominions thereunto belonging, I advis'd the King to disinherit his true and lawfully begotten Children Mary and Anne, by making the Kingdom believe his Queen was with Child; accordingly, Prayers were offered up in all Churches for her happy delivery, when, alas! she was no more with Child than you, or I, Sir. Now, to put a fair Gloss on this Intrigue, carried on for the Good of Mother-Church, Her Majesty cunningly seeming to be in Travail, she was convey'd on Saturday the 9th of June, 1688, to the Palace of St James, where on Sunday Morning next, being the 10th of the same Month, she was presently brought to Bed of a fine Boy without any Pain at all, because the Child was gotten to her hand by my own self, ghostly

Father, on the Body of one Mrs Elizabeth Mac-nemarra, who was a Bye-blow her self, begotten by a Gentleman of that Name living in the North of Ireland, where she was born, and being brought by the Duchess of Tyrconnel to London, in the Quality of a Chamber-maid; who being endow'd with some Beauty but little Wit, I did nevertheless presume to transgress against the Rules of our Order, which, beside Poverty and Obedience, enjoyn us to Chastity, by making carnal Use of her Person, to promote our Interest; which then seem'd likely to prosper, since she happen'd to be brought to Bed, just as the Queen had passed her Reckoning; and that the true Mother of this sham Prince might not tell Tales when she went abroad, as soon as she was up again, we dispatch'd her out of the World with a Dose of Poyson, and privately buried her Body in Hyde-Park.

"On the same Day as my dear Babe was born, and secretly convey'd by an intriguing Lady into the Queen's Bed, it was order'd in Council that there should be a general Thanksgiving, to be observ'd within the Liberties of London and Westminster, and Parts adjacent, on Sunday the 17th of June, and 14 Days after, in all other Parts of that Kingdom: And, that Notice should be given of the Birth of this Spurious Prince to the Lord-Mayor of London, that Bonfires, and



public Rejoycings might be made; which was accordingly perform'd, after firing the Cannon of the Tower, with all the Demonstrations of extraordinary Joy, with which so great a Blessing, bestow'd by my Vigour and Manhood upon their Majesties, had filled the Hearts of their Subjects. And still to make the Matter look more plausible, it was order'd by the King in Council, on the First of November following, That the several Declarations made by His Majesty, who knew well enough it was none of his Child; and by Her Majesty the Queen Dowager, together with the several Depositions made by some Noblemen, be forthwith Enroll'd in the Court of Chancery; but all would not do, for the Generality of the People knew the Brungin was a Trick put upon them, and would no more acknowledge him to be the true Heir to the three Kingdoms, than they would the Pope's Nuncio.

"However, Reverend Father, I can't help it; I did my best to advance our Cause; and therefore let me die when I will, I hope the Fornication and murder I committed to fix our Religion once more in England, is not so much as a venial Sin, but rather Meritorious, and will translate me to those Regions whither Garnet, and others of our honourable Society are long since fled before me."

Here Father Peters making an end of Confessing

himself, Mr Polton gave him Absolution with Tears in his Eyes; as well he might, to see such a Sinner glory in his Wickedness; which was so great that he durst attempt to put Fallacies upon his Maker out of his own Word, and make God's most Righteous precepts the Topicks of his Disobedience.

All the World knows the Character of Father Peters was none of the best; therefore the Chevalier de St George, alias the Pretender, his own Child, cannot be much better; which makes good the old Proverb, *Mali corvi malum ovum*, that is to say, Like Father, like Son. Now should he be introduced here by a Foreign Power, mixt with some Irish Papists, who are the worst of Papists, and Scum of Mankind, being sensible of the meanness of his Birth, he may prove a second Maximinus, which Emperor being born in a pelting Village of Thrace, slew as many as knew his Pedigree, and had seen the Rags of his Parents. Herod burnt the Genealogies of the Jews, that he might affirm himself, as well as they, to have descended of a Noble Race; and Themistocles, a Bastard, for to cloak his Birth, and to remove the ill Opinion conceived of him that Way, enticed the young Nobility of Athens, to frequent Cynosarges, a School without the City, where Bastards did only frequent.

Now what would our Jacobites and Tories be



at? They want an Impostor to change the most happy and best Constitution in the World for a Despotick and Arbitrary Power. They prefer Bondage and Slavery before Liberty and Property; the Superstition of an Idolatrous See before the Purity of the Church of England; the Pollution of our Holy Orders before the true Service of our God; Dragooning out of their Money before giving it by their own Consent; and wearing Wooden Shoes before Ease and Decency. In fine, as the Pretender has been bred up in a Court, well vers'd in Tyranny and Oppression, without doubt he will perfectly act the Part of the Prophet's King, should he, which God forbid, obtain the British Crown by Usurpation. For what would happen in that Case, see 1 Sam. viii., 11 to 18.

Moreover, do the Jacobites and Tories want to see again the Reign of Bloody Queen Mary, when Smithfield and other Places have blazed with Holy Martyrs? So great is the Cruelty of the Papists, that they have not only destroy'd the Body, but also the Soul, by making some Persons deny their Faith, and then, for fear of a Recantation, presently murder'd them. Thus the Villainy of this sort of Christians, if I may reckon them in that Class, exceeded the Prosecution of Heathens, whose Malice (as a learned man says) was never so *Longimanus* as to reach the Souls of their

Enemies, or to extend unto the Exile of their Elysiums. Though the Blindness of some Furies have savaged on the Dead, and been so injurious unto Worms, as to disinter the Bodies of the deceased, yet had they therein no design upon the Soul, and have been so far from the Destruction of that, or Desires of a perpetual Death, that for the Satisfaction of their Revenge they wish'd them many Souls; and were it in their Power would have reduced them to Life again. It was a great Depravity in our Natures, and surely an Affection that somewhat savoureth of Hell, to desire the Society, or comfort our Selves in the Fellowship of others that Suffer with us; but to procure the Miseries of others in those Extremities, wherein we hold a Hope to have no Society our Selves, is methinks, a Strain above Lucifer, and a Project beyond the primary Seduction of infernal Powers.







## The Character of the Pretender.

THE Chevalier de St. George, is a mere Proteus, that can change himself to all Shapes, and conform himself to all Humours to inveigle Rebels to espouse his bad Cause; and obtaining his Ends (like Bloody Queen Mary, who martyr'd those that put her on the Throne) he'll cut their Throats. To those that Support him in his Vagabond Course of Life, he's as humble as a Slave; but to them he reckons his Inferiours he's as Haughty as an elevated Footman. His Bounty already extends only to Bawds and Whores; and his Generosity to Irish Pimps and Parasites; to gain which, they most obsequiously dissemble, and tell the Fool he's a King. His whole Life is like

Penelope's Webb, nothing but doing and undoing; for as what she did in the Day, she undid in the Night; so if he attempts an Invasion, he runs away again for fear. Now he is Abroad, he seems an Angel to the Tories; but was he here, they would soon find him a Devil. When he comes to be Hang'd, he may find, among Papists and Jacobites, Tegelius's Mourners, to sigh out Elegies, and sing Dirges at his Funeral, but none among honest Men. We can call this thing no other than a Hobedehoy, that is, half Man, half Boy; who hath more Perriwig then Brains in his Head, and no Religion at all in his Heart. Though he has been a long time in France, a polite Country, yet he was always lock'd up in the dark Dungeon of Ignorance and Inconstancy; which was more infected with Errors, than Augeus's Stables with Ordure. He hath neither Sense or Wit; and as yet he remains on t'other side the Water, as having a mind (I suppose) to stay at home, to try how long his Skin well kept, would last. His Ambition incites him to aspire to that which is none of his Due by Birthright; and this Insolence makes the wisest part of Mankind now perceive him to be an Impostor. Was he to Reign here by Usurpation, (which God forbid) we should soon have occasion to cry out, that the Subjects of the Grand Signior, the Czar of Moscow, and the late King of France, enjoy'd the



best Government in the World. Tyranny is his Minion; Idleness his Recreation; Religion his Conveniency; Massacres his Satisfaction; and Fools, Knaves, and Blockheads his Companions.

In fine, he's a great Bigot, and *Un pauvre génie*; Therefore let all true Born Britains consider, Whether Bigotry and Ignorance joyn'd together are fit Qualifications for a Governor of a Protestant Nation.\*

\* This is perhaps the clumsiest libel on, as well as the coarsest invective against, the Pretender, to be found in the mass of polemical literature, which, mushroom-like, sprang up on all sides in the days immediately preceding the '15 and '45.

**Finis.**

# HISTORICAL REPRINTS.—X.

## THE Reign of William the Conqueror.

Translated from a Norman-French  
MS. in the Library of Trinity  
College, Cambridge, sup-  
posed to be written by  
Peter de Fekham.

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MCCLXXV.  
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1885.



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large-paper copies.*



## The Reign of William the Conqueror,

—♦—  
**W**ILLIAM THE BASTARD, duke of Normandy, after he had conquered the English, was crowned at Westminster on Christmas day, which was on Monday, by Aldred, Archbishop of York, and he reigned twenty years ten months and twenty-eight days. He was named the Bastard, because his father, Robert duke of Normandy, begot him of his mistress, whom he took from a dancing company on account of her great beauty, which bewitched him, and he kept her for a long time as his wife. When William's father was gone on pilgrimage to Jerusalem, after he had held the duchy for seven years, William was created duke by the common consent of all the barons of the land.

And you must understand that now he was crowned by the archbishop of York, because Stigand, the archbishop of Canterbury, was suspended then by the pope Alexander II., with good cause. For he made himself archbishop



when Robert, who preceded him, was yet alive and was beyond the sea. He retained also the bishopric of Winchester with his archbishopric. Moreover he adhered to one Benedict, who set himself up for pope, whom the court of Rome condemned. And at that time the see of London was vacant.

How it was that this king William came to the throne of England, not by chance, nor by adventure, but by the providence of God, I will now tell you. In the time of king Edward, who is now saint and confessor, there was a great feud between him and Godwin earl of Kent, the father of king Harold. Afterwards, when they were reconciled, he gave the king for hostage Wulnoth his son and Hacun the son of Sweyn his son whom king Edward sent to Normandy to the duke William to guard. Whereupon it came to pass that, after the death of earl Godwin, Harold his son prayed the king that he might have leave to go to Normandy to see his brother and nephew. And then the king said to him; "You will go to the hurt of all England." Yet he obtained leave. Harold went to sea and by the force of the gale that took him there he came to Ponthieu, and soon he was seized by the lord of the country and sent to William duke of Normandy as a prisoner. And while he was there, after many day, the duke William said to Harold:—"When king

Edward was young, and we were brought up together in Normandy, he promised me, on his honour, that if ever he became king of England, and died without heir of his own that he would make me heir of the kingdom. Therefore, if you choose to promise me that you will help me to it, when place and time shall serve, and that you will build me a castle at Dover with a well, and that you will give your sister to one of my barons and that you will take my daughter to wife, and make your oath to this effect, then I will give you your nephew now, and when I shall arrive in England to be king you shall receive your brother." When Harold heard this he consented gladly, and swore upon the holy relics that were brought there that he would hold to the promise in all these respects. So the duke suffered him to return to England with his nephew. But within a little while king Edward died, and, contrary to his oath, he caused himself to be crowned as you have before heard. And when duke William heard this he bade him by his messenger that he should keep his oath; and he answered him:—"My sister, whom you claim of me by the oath, is dead, so if you chose to have her body such as it is now, I will gladly send it to you, that you may not say that I am breaking my oath. I have built the castle at Dover, and in it I have made a well, as I promised, though for whom I know not. The



kingdom which never yet was mine, by what right could I give or promise it to you? If you talk of your daughter whom I ought to take to wife, know this for sooth, that I never may nor can bring a wife from foreign lands to England without the advice and consent of the barons." When the messenger was returned he told all these things to his lord. And when the duke had heard it, a second time he bade him in friendship to let everything else alone, but at least to take his daughter, as he had pledged his troth, or else, let him be very sure that he would come to England and take vengeance of him, because he had not kept the kingdom for him as he had promised. And to this Harold answered that the thing which he asked him to do concerning his daughter he never would do, and of his coming to England he had no fear.

The same year that king William was crowned, in Lent, he returned to Normandy and took with him Stigand the Archbishop of Canterbury, and Egelnoth the abbot of Glastonbury and Edgar the atheling, and the Earl Edwin and many others of the great lords of the land, and left his brother Odo the Bishop of Bayeux and William Fitzosbern, whom he made earl of Hereford, to guard England, and charged them that the fortresses everywhere should be strengthened.

At that same time king William built Battle

Abbey, which has its name from the battle that was fought between him and King Harold.

And the winter after the king came back to England, and laid on the people heavy taxation. Then he went to Devonshire, and besieged the city of Exeter which had rebelled against him. And by God's help he took it immediately, for the wall fell down before him, and he entered at once. And he was the more fierce to attack it because one of the city stood on the wall, and made obscene demonstrations and noises to those outside, to insult the Normans.

Meanwhile Malcolm, the king of Scotland, received all the English fugitives, and penetrated often as far as York, and wrought there at his old trade, and onwards, through all that country, not because he had any mind to reign in that country and thought that he might become king, but to vex king William, and to make him care little for the kingdom when every day he must fight for it with the Scotch. On this account king William took a large army with him, and marched towards the north and took York, starved the city into a surrender, and burnt with fire and flame all the fields, and the wheat harvest in the country; and, near the sea, he caused all the towns and the fields to be flooded, in order that the king of Denmark, if he should come there, might find nothing from whence he might obtain support, for he had heard



it said that he was coming. So at that time for about sixty miles and more the land of Northumberland lay uncultivated and all desolate, and then it was a piteous sight for one to witness who had seen the country before; for many fair towns were then laid in ruin.

Malcolm, the king of Scotland, when he heard all this, surrendered; and all the time of king William at times he was faithful to him, and at times deserted him, and in the same manner he acted by king William Rufus the son of this William; but afterwards, when he came into the district of Northumberland to ravage it, he and his son also were slain by the earl, and he lay many years at Tynemouth, but afterwards Alexander, his son, caused him to be conveyed into Scotland to Dumfermline.

The second year of his reign his wife Maud, the daughter of Baldwin, the earl of Flanders, was crowned queen by Aldred the archbishop of York.

After this, about the year of our Lord 1069. the people of Northumberland and Edgar Atheling with them, went to Scotland to invite the Scotch to aid, and prayed also the Danes that they would come to England to attack King William. So that the Danes came with two hundred and forty ships. And when Aldred, the archbishop of York, heard it, he died of grief.

And at that time there was a great famine in England, by reason of the waste which had been made, partly by the Normans, partly by the Northumbrians, partly by the Danes. Whereupon king William caused all the churches of England to be ransacked, and all the money that he could find, which the rich people of England had placed in them, he had carried away, and placed in his treasury.

A.D. 1070, in the octaves of Easter, a great council was held at Winchester by the commandment of the king and with the consent of the pope Alexander, where archbishop Stigand was deprived. And on that occasion king William degraded many other bishops and abbots from their rank, and had them kept as prisoners to the end of their life, and yet neither by the law of Holy Church, nor by the law of the land, ought he to have done this for any proved crime he found in them. On the Whitsunday following (May 23), at Windsor, king William gave the archbishopric of York to Thomas, a canon of Bayeux, and the see of Winchester to Walkeline, his chaplain, and to his other chaplain, Stigand by name, he gave the bishopric of Sussex, who placed the seat of it at Chichester.

A.D. 1071 the king sent for Lanfranc, the Abbot of Caen in Normandy, who was a very great clerk, and gave him the archbishoprick of



Canterbury, on the day of the Assumption of our Lady. He was consecrated there on the feast of St. John the Baptist, which was a Sunday.

In the time of William the Bastard, saint Wulstan, the bishop of Worcester, was charged before Lanfranc, the archbishop of Canterbury, that he was a layman, and knew little learning, and was wrongly consecrated.

He was so simple that he knew not how to rule his diocese,

Therefore the archbishop was in duty bound to depose him.

Saint Wulstan replied to the archbishop :—

Unmeet am I, my lord, this place to fill,  
For naught to teach or govern is my skill,  
Yet by my brother monks was I elect,  
And clerks and bishops did their choice respect ;  
To whom they chose the king the staff conveyed,  
Nor was th' archbishops, holy touch delayed ;  
That staff, my lord, thou wilt take back to-day,  
And put me from my bishopric away ;  
Thou bidst me to resign my staff, I say not nay,  
But give it to his hands who gave, not thine.  
(So saying, moved he to St. Edward's shrine.)  
My lord, I will resign this cross to thee,  
To thee I render that thou gavest me.  
He fixed his staff into the stony grave,  
And on the altar robes and mitre gave.

Then with the monks, with whom he erst had dwelt,

In his own stall, a simple monk, he knelt.  
All they who saw it wondered at the view,  
To see the staff where in the stone it grew,  
As it had deep root in the marble ta'en,  
And all the strength to lift it out was vain.  
Some strive with all their force to move the rod,  
Some dare not touch it for the fear of God.  
The archbishop saw, and sorely was afraid ;  
To God for pardon, and St Wulstan prayed,  
And gave his pledge how ill the charge was laid.

And said to Saint Wulstan :—

Take back thy charge, dear brother, 'tis confest  
That little learning is more highly blest  
Than all the skill and cunning man loves best.  
By little learning God is glorified,  
For worldly wisdom puffs us up with pride ;  
When in vain glory all our pleasure lies,  
Then do we God and all His work despise.  
Now kneel we penitents of God and thine,  
Seeing the Saint will not the staff resign ;  
So to the shrine of Edward Wulstan went,  
And said, in lowly adoration bent,  
Behold me, O my Lord, and hear my prayer,  
I yield thee hearty thanks for this thy care ;  
I am that Wulstan who to thee appealed,  
Willing my cross at thy desire to yield ;



If 'tis thy will that I my charge retain,  
Of thy great goodness give the cross again.  
He grasped the staff soon as he ceased to pray,  
And raised it as 'twere fixed in yielding clay;  
The archbishop and the king fell at his feet,  
And of their sinful wrath they made confession  
meet.

A.D. 1072, when he had heard that two earls—that is to say, Morcar and Siward Baron, and Egelwine, the bishop of Durham, had gone secretly to the isle of Ely, he cut off from them all egress on the east, and on the west he caused a long bridge of two miles in length to be made, and seized them all, and caused them all to do him homage, except one who was called Hereward, an excellent warrior, who escaped through the marshes with a handful of people that followed him.

Afterwards, the same year, at the next Easter (April 8th), the cause was argued of the right and primacy which the church of Canterbury has over the church of York, and it was concluded, and judgment on the question given at the Whitsuntide after (May 25).

The same year king William invaded Scotland after the Assumption of our Lady (Aug 15) to make the land subject to him. And king Malcolm, when he heard it, came to meet him at Berwick, and did him homage.

A.D. 1073, he took the city of Le Mans, in Anjou, and subdued all that country under himself, and this much through help of the English.

A.D. 1074, Roger, Earl of Hereford, the son of William Osbern, gave his sister to wife to Ralf, the Earl of East Anglia, and made the marriage feast in the county of Cambridge, in a town called Exning, where many of the barons and knights of the land were assembled, at their request, and there they abjured king William and took council among themselves how they could humble him. But Earl Waltheof, who knew nothing of this until he had arrived there, after making the oath with them, immediately repented himself and went to Lanfranc, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and received absolution from him by penance for his oath which he had sworn, even though the oath was involuntary; and by his advice he went to Normandy to king William, and told him the whole course of that proceeding, and threw himself on his mercy. Then Wulstane, the bishop of Worcester, and Egelwine, the Abbot of Evesham, and Sir Urse, the viscount of Worcester, and Sir Walter de Lacy, prevented the earl of Hereford from being able to escape out of the country to earl Ralf. And Odo, the king's brother, bishop of Bayeux, and Geoffrey, the bishop of Coutance in Anjou, with a great army under them, prevailed upon earl Ralf to fly to Brittany. Afterwards, on



king William's return from Normandy, he banished some of those who had taken part against him, and he put out the eyes of others, and cut off the hands of some, and the two earls Waltheof and Roger he put in prison. But afterwards he had the earl Waltheof beheaded outside the city of Worcester, for which he was much blamed, and he had him buried very deep in the ground at the same place. But some time after his body was raised and carried thence with great honour to Croyland, and there it was buried. After this, William went to Brittany, and besieged earl Ralf's castle, which is called Dol, until Philip, the king of France, came to his succour, and drove him away.

A.D. 1077 was a very hard frost, and the ice was so thick that it lasted from All Saints Day to the middle of April.

A.D. 1079 the church at Winchester was restored.

A.D. 1080 he reduced the whole of Wales to subjection to himself, and imprisoned Odo, his brother, the Bishop of Bayeux.

A.D. 1083 died Maud I., the Queen of England, of whom the afore-mentioned king William had four sons, namely, Robert Curthose, who for some time held the duchy of Normandy, and William Rufus, who was king next after him, and Richard, who died in his childhood, and Henry, who was

king next after William Rufus; also, four daughters—to wit, Cecilia, Constance, and Alice, and Adele, who was married to Stephen, the earl of Blois.

A.D. 1085 he caused inquiry to be made, on oath, by his justices in every county of England, how many acres of land, giving occupation to one plough annually, were attached to every town, and how many head of cattle. He also caused inquiry to be made of every city, fort, town, street, river, marsh, and wood; what tax it could and should pay per annum. And when the answers to all of this were returned, he had them put in writing and presented to the king, and they are still preserved as one of the treasures. The same year also he exacted six shillings tax from every county of England.

The next Christmas he held his court at Gloucester, and gave three bishoprics which were vacant, to his three chaplains—namely, the bishopric of London to Maurice, and the bishopric of Thetford, for the see of Norwich was still placed there, to William de Belfe, and to Robert the bishopric of Chester.

A.D. 1086, in Whitsun week, he knighted his son Henry at Westminster, and soon after he summoned the whole of the clergy and all the barons to Salisbury where he caused them to swear that they would be faithful and loyal to him against all the world.



About that time many died in England, some of fever and some of famine. At the same time also, fires consumed the noblest cities of England, and St. Paul's church in London, with the larger and finer part of the city. Also a great earthquake was heard through the land.

After these things, one time when king William had taken medicine for his bodily health, and in the meantime did not give himself to arms to fight the French, as he used to do, King Philip of France ridiculed him, and said he was lying in like a woman in childbed, and when king William had heard this he said at once, "And when I rise and go to Church, by Him who rose from the dead I will make my offering of a thousand candles;" and immediately he set on fire and flame the city of Mantes, which was in the French dominions, as well as the church of Notre Dame, which was in the city, where a nun was burnt to death. And there, from the heat of that fire, he caught the sickness of which he died. But, however, some say that as he was on horseback, and was obliged to leap a great ditch, his bowels were ruptured within him, nor was he ever after well again. So then, after all this king William died the fifty-ninth year of his life, the fifty-second of his duchy, the twentieth or twenty-first of his kingdom, A.D. 1087, on the eighth day of September.

THE END.



### Visitation of Monasteries.





HISTORICAL REPRINTS.—XIII.

Instructions of  
KING HENRY VIII.

FOR THE

GENERAL VISITATION

OF THE

MONASTERIES AND NUNNERIES.

—  
1538-39.

*Great Britain — King — Henry 8.*



PRIVATELY PRINTED.  
EDINBURGH.

—  
1886.





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and 50 large-paper copies.



Henry VIII.'s Instructions for the  
General Visitation of the  
Monasteries and  
Runneries.\*



*Articuli Regiæ Inquisitionis, in Monasticam  
vitam agentes, exponendi, et præcipue in  
exemptos a jurisdictione Diocæsana, jam  
tantum Regiæ Majestati et ejus juris-  
dictioni subditos et subjectos, ac hujus  
inclyti sui Regni Statutis et legibus,  
nullisq; aliis penitus, obnoxios et astric-  
tos.*

- I. **I**N *primis*; Whether Divine Service be solemn-  
ly sung, said, observed, and kept in this  
Monastery, according to the Number and  
the Abilities thereof, by Night and by Day,  
in due time and hours? and how many be  
present commonly at Mattins, and other Service, and

\* Cott. Libr. Cleop. E. 4.



who be absent, and so accustomed to be, without cause or sickness?

2. *Item*; How many Monks, Cannons Regulars, or Nuns, be within this Monastery, and how many there ought to be, and whether the number be compleat according to the Founder's Will, or the Statutes, Ordinances, and laudable custom of this House; and whether the number be augmented or diminished now or late?

3. *Item*; Who were the first Founders of this House?

*Fundationem primam, secundam, tertiam, et quotquot habent exhibeant.*

4. *Item*; Whether this House hath had any increase of Lands given to it sithence the first Foundation thereof? by whom? how many? and when?

5. *Item*; To what Sum of Money those Revenues and Rents of this House do extend and amount unto yearly?

6. *Item*; Whether this House was ever translated from one habit and order to another? by whose Authority? and for what Cause?

*Translationem exhibeant.*

7. *Item*; How the Lands and Possessions appertaining unto this Monastery, given by the first Founder, and all other Lands given sithence the first Foundation, were granted, given, and established, and so first brought to *Morte main*? whether by the only

Authority of the Giver, or by the Authorization of the Prince for that time reigning, and by what tenour and form ye hold them?

*Donationem et Confirmationem exhibeant.*

8. *Item*; What evidence have you to shew for all and singular your Lands, Manors, Tenements, and other your Possessions Mortisate, and given unto you, and this your Monastery?

9. *Item*; Wherefore, for what Causes and Considerations ye were exempt from your Diocesan? and what was your Suggestion and Motive at the obtaining of your said Exemption?

*Exemptionem exhibeant.*

10. *Item*; Whether ye have any private, peculiar, or local Statutes, Confirmations, Ordinances, or Rules, made only for the behoof, good order, and singular weal of this House, besides the Rules of your Profession? and whether they were made either by your Founders before your Exemption, or by the good Fathers of this House, with the whole consent of the Brethren, being sithence your exemption: to what use they were made, and how ye observe them?

*Statuta illa localia, et alia quotquot habent, exhibeant.*

11. *Item*; By what way and form the Master of this House was elected and chosen? And whether all the Brethren having, or ought to have by the Law, Statutes, or laudable custom of this House, Voices in



the Election, were present in the same Election, or lawfully called or cited to it ?

12. *Item* ; Whether any Persons Excommunicate, Suspended, or Interdicted, did give Voices in the same Election ?

13. *Item* ; Within what time after the Election was made and done, the Master of this House was confirmed ? and by whom ?

14. *Item* ; Whether unto the Confirmation, all that had Interest, or that would object against the same, were lawfully cited, monished, and called ?

*Exhibeat Electionem, Confirmationem, et Titulum suæ Incumbentiæ.*

15. *Item* ; What Rule the Master of this House, and other the Brethren, do profess ?

16. *Item* ; How many be Proffessed, and how many be Novices ; and whether the Novices have like Habit, or use to wear an Habit distinct from the Habit of the Brethren Professed ?

17. *Item* ; Whether ye do use to profess your Novices in due time, and within what time and space after they have taken the Habit upon them ?

18. *Item* ; Whether the Brethren of this House do know the Rule that they have professed, and whether they keep their Profession according to that their Rule, and Custom of this House ; and in especial, the three substantial and principal Vows, that is to say, Poverty, Charity, and Obedience ?

19. *Item* ; Whether any of the Brethren use any propriety of Mony, or of Plate, in their Chambers ; or of any other manner thing unaware of the Master, and without his knowledg and license, or by his sufferance and knowledg ? aud for what cause ?

20. *Item* ; Whether ye do keep Chastity, not using the company of any suspect Woman within this Monastery, or without ? And whether the Master, or any Brother of this House be suspected upon Incontinency, or defamed for that he is much conversant with Women ?

21. *Item* ; Whether Women useth and resorteth much to this Monastery by back-ways, or otherwise ? and whether they be accustomedly, or at any time lodged within the Precinct thereof ?

22. *Item* ; Whether the Master, or any Brother of this House, useth to have any Boys or young Men laying with him ?

23. *Item* ; Whether the Brethren of this House keep their Obedience, being ready at their Master's Commandment, in all things honest, lawful, and reasonable ?

*Sequantur Regulæ Cæremoniales.*

24. *Item* ; Whether ye do keep silence in the Church, Cloister, Frairie, and Dormitorie, at the hours and time specified in your Rule ?

25. *Item* ; Whether ye do keep Fasting and Abstinence, according to your Rules, Statutes, Ordinances, and laudable Customs of this House ?



26. *Item*; Whether ye abstain from Flesh in time of *Advent*, and other times declared and specified by the Law, Rules, and laudable Customs of this House?

27. *Item*; Whether ye wear Shirts and Sheets of Woollen, or that ye have any Constitution, Ordinance, or Dispensation, granted or made to the contrary, by sufficient and lawful Authority?

*Profitentes Regulam Benedicti quam arctissime tenentur ad prædicta Cæremonialia observanda.*

28. *Item*; Whether ye do sleep altogether in the *Dormitorie*, under one Roof, or not?

29. *Item*; Whether ye have all separate Beds, or any one of you doth lay with an other?

30. *Item*; Whether ye do keep the Frairtry at Meals, so that two parts, or the least, the two part of the whole Covent be always there, unless the Master at every one time dispense with you to the contrary?

31. *Item*; Whether ye do wear your Religious habit continually, and never leave it off when you go bed?

32. *Item*; Whether every Brethren of this House have lightly departed hence, and hath gone to any other House of like Order and Profession, without special Letters and License of their Master.

33. *Item*; Whether the Master and Brethren of this House have received and admitted any Brother of another House, without special License and Letters of his Master and Head?

34. *Item*; Whether any of you, sithence the time of your Profession, hath gone out of this House to his Friends, or otherwise?

35. *Item*; How oftentimes he did so, and how long at every time ye tarried forth?

36. *Item*; Whether ye had special license of your Master so to go forth, or not?

37. *Item*; Whether at every time of your being forth, ye changed or left off your habit, or every part thereof?

38. *Item*; Whether ye, or any of you be, or hath been, in manifest Apostasy, that is to say, Fugitives or Vagbonds?

39. *Item*; For what cause or occasion ye have so gone forth and been in Apostasy? and whether the cause of your going forth was by reason of the great cruelty of your Master, or by his negligence, not calling you home to your Cloister?

40. *Item*; Whether ye be weekly shaven, and do not nourish or suffer your Hair to be long? and whether ye wear your Apparel according to the Rule, not too excessive, not too exquisite; and in like wise the trappo's of your Horses, and other your bearing Beasts?

41. *Item*; Whether the Master and Head of this House do use his Brethren charitably, without partiality, malice, envy, grudg, or displeasure more shewed to one than to another?

42. *Item*; Whether he do use his Disciplines, Cor-



rections, and Punishments upon his Brethren, with mercy, pity, and charity, without cruelty, rigorousness, and enormous hurt, no more favouring one than another?

43. *Item*; Whether any Brother, or Religious Person of this House, be incorrigible?

44. *Item*; Whether the Master of this House do use his Brethren charitably when they be sick and diseased? and whether in time of their sickness he do procure unto them Physicians, and all other necessities?

45. *Item*; Whether he make his Accompts (as he ought to do) once every year before his Brethren, and chiefly the Seniors and Officers, to the intent they may be made privy to the state and condition of the House, and know perfectly the due administration thereof?

46. *Item*; Whether the Prior, Subprior, Sellarar, Kitchener, Terrure, Sacristen, or any such-like Officer, having Administration of every manner Revenues of this House, do make his whole and true Accompt, according as he is bound to do, not applying any thing by him received to his own proper use or commodity?

47. *Item*; Whether any Religious Person of this House do bear, occupy, or exercise more Offices than one, for, and to his own singular commodity, advantage, or profit, by the partial dealing of the Master?

48. *Item*; Whether all and singular the Revenues and Profits of this House be converted and employed

to the behove and use thereof, and of the Brethren, and according to the Founder's mind and Giver?

49. *Item*; Whether the Master do make sufficient reparations upon his Monastery, as the Church and all other housing thereto adjoined, and also upon all other the Lands, Granges, Farms, and Tenements belonging to the same, and whether he suffer any dilapidation, decay, or ruine in any part of them?

50. *Item*; Whether there be any Inventory made of all and singular the Moveables, Goods, which from time to time have been, and yet be in this House, as of Jewels, Reliques, Ornaments, Vestiments, ready Mony, Plate, Bedding, with other Utensils; also of Corn, Chattels, and other Commodities, to the intent the state and condition of this House may be always known?

51. *Item*; That ye express truly and sincerely the whole state and condition of this House, as in Mony, Plate, Cattell, Corn, and other Goods?

52. *Item*; Whether this Monastery be indebted? to whom? and for what cause?

53. *Item*; Whether any of the Lands be sold, or mortgaged? and for what Sums?

54. *Item*; Whether any be lett to Farm by the Master of this House, for term of years, and for how many years? and specially whether they be letten for small Sums, or for less Sums than they were wont to be letten for, to the intent to have great sums of ready Mony before hand?



55. *Item* ; Whether he do enforce, compel, or constrain his Brethren, or any of them, to consent to the sealing of any Leases, Grants, Farm-Holds, Annuities, Corrodies, or any other Alienations ?

56. *Item* ; Whether the Plate and Jewels, or any part or parcel thereof, or of any other moveable Goods of this House be laid to pledg, sold, or alienated for a time, or for ever ? for what cause, and to whom ? or otherwise imbezled, or consumed ?

57. *Item* ; Whether the Master of this House be wont to give under his Seal of Office, or Covent-Seal, Farms, Corrodies, Annuities, or Offices, to his Kinsfolk, Alliances, Friends, or Acquaintance, for term of years, or otherwise, to the hurt, hindrance, damage, and impoverishment of this House ?

58. *Item* ; Whether he be wont to grant any Patent, or Covent-Seal, without the consent of his Brethren ?

59. *Item* ; Whether the Covent-Seal of this House be surely and safely kept under three Keys ; that is to say, one remaining and being in the custody of the Master, and the other two in the custody of two Seniours ?

60. *Item* ; Whether the Muniments and Evidences of the Lands, Rents, and Revenues of this House, be safely kept from Vermine and Moistness ?

61. *Item* ; Whether the Master do keep Hospitality according to the ability of his House, and in like manner as other Fathers hereof have done heretofore ?

62. *Item* ; Whether the Master of this House, in receiving any Novice, being of willing and toward mind to enter into Religion, hath demanded or received, or convented to receive any Mony, Rewards, or any other temporal Commodities of him so entering, or willing to enter, or of any other his Friends ? and whether for not promising, granting, or giving such Rewards or Gifts, any hath been repelled and not received ?

63. *Item* ; Whether the Novices, and other received into Religion, have a Perceptor and Master deputed unto them to teach them Gramar and good Letters ?

64. *Item* ; Whether any Seniour of this House be deputed to declare, inform, and instruct them their Rules, and whereunto they shall be bounden to observe and keep, after their Profession ?

65. *Item* ; Whether any of you have taken upon him the Habit and Profession of your Religion, chiefly for the intent, hope, or trust to be made Head and Master of this House ?

66. *Item* ; Whether the Master of this House, in giving any Advocation, Nomination, or Presentation, or Collation of any Parsonage, Vicarage, Chapel, or Benefice of the Patronage and Gift of this House, do take, or use to take any manner Pension, Portion, or other Commodity, or Gains ; or else doth make any Convention or Compaction, whereby any lucre may ensue to him in that behalf ?

67. *Item* ; Whether he do receive, or use to



receive, the Fruits and Revenues of every such Benefice vacant, or use to borrow any Mony of him to whom he intendeth to give such Benefice unto, expressly covenanting or intending, that he so obtaining the said Benefice, shall freely and clearly remit the said Mony so borrowed?

68. *Item*; What, and how many Benefices the Master of this House doth occupy and keep in his own hands?

69. *Item*; Whether the same Benefices be appropriate and united to this House by sufficient authority?

70. *Item*; Whether the Master of this House doth make distributions amongst the Parishoners of the Benefices appropriate, and doth keep and observe all and singular other Provisions and Ordinances specified and expressed in the Appropriations of the same Benefices?

*Exhibeant omnes et singulas Appropriationes, una cum Ordinationibus et Dotationibus Vicariatuum.*

71. *Item*; Whether he do promote unto such Benefices as be of his Gift, sufficient and able Persons in Learning, Manners, and Vertue?

72. *Item*; Whether any Brother of this House do serve any Parish-Church, being appropriate and united to the same, and how many Churches appropriate be so served?

73. *Item*; Whether the Master of this House

hath and possesseth any Benefice with Cure, or any other Dignity with his Abbey?

*Si aliquod tale habet, Dispensationem exhibeat.*

74. *Item*; Whether the Master of this House at any time since he was first made Abbot, or Master, did know or believe that he was Suspended, or Excommunicate, either by the Law, or by any Judge; and whether he knowing or supposing himself to be, did sing Mass in the mean time, and before he was absolved?

*In Visitatione Monialium ad Præmissa addantur hæc.*

75. *Item*; Whether this Monastery hath good and sufficient Enclosure, and whether the Doors and Windows be diligently kept shut, so that no man can have any entry into the same, or any part thereof, at inconvenient times?

*Propter quod necessarium erit Visitatori circumire Monasterium, ac videre et rimare dispositionem ædificiorum, et an sint aliqua loca pervia per quæ secrete intrari possit; et una secum habeat Abbatissam cum duabus aut tribus senioribus Monialibus, a quibus tum interroget, an ostia Monasterii singulis quibusque noctibus sub clavibus clausa teneantur, et*



*quæ earum Monialium senio confectarum, vel an Abbas ipsa clavium custodiam tempore nocturno habeant et teneant: nam non est tutum clavium custodiam Junioribus committere.*

76. *Item*; Whether Strangers, both Men and Women, useth commonly to have communication with the Sisters of this House, without license of the Abbess or Prioress, specially in secret places, and in the absence of their Sisters?

77. *Item*; Whether any Sister of this House were possessed for any manner of compulsion of her Friends and Kinsfolks, or by the Abbess or Prioress?

78. *Item*; Whether any of the Sisters of this House useth to go forth any whither out of the Precinct thereof, without special license of their Abbess or Prioress?

79. *Item*; Whether any Sister doth use her Habit continually out of her Cell?

80. *Item*; Wherein every one of you occupieth herself, beside the time of Divine Service?

81. *Item*; Whether any Sister of this House hath any familiarity with Religious Men, Secular Priests, or Lay-Men, being not near of kin unto them?

82. *Item*; Whether any Sister of this House hath been taken and found with any such accustomedly so communing, and could not shew any reasonable cause why they so did?

83. *Item*; Whether any of you doth use to write any Letters of Love, or lascivious fashion to any Person, or receive any such, or have any privy Messengers coming and resorting unto you, or any of you, with Token or Gifts, from any manner secular Person or other?

84. *Item*; Whether any of you doth use to speak with any manner of Person, by night or by day, by Grates or back Windows, or other privy Places within this Monastery, without license of your Head?

85. *Item*; Whether the Confessor of this House be a discreet Man, of good learning, vertue and honest behaviour, of good name and fame, and whether he hath been always so taken?

86. *Item*; How oftentimes in the year the Sisters of this House useth to be Confessed and Communicate?

*Restat pro Ecclesiis Collegiatis, Hospitalibus, Ecclesiis Cathedralibus, Parrochialibus, Ecclesiis, Episcopo, et Archiepiscopo, pro ordine Ierosolomitaram?*

*Exhibeant omnia scripta, munimenta, Inventaria, Schedulas, quascunque, unde aliquid cognitionis eorum reformationi Monasteriorum, sive domorum utilitati, necessaria explicari, aut quoquo modo colligi possit.*





General Injunctions to be given on  
the King's Highness's behalf,  
in all Monastries and other  
Houses, of whatsoever Order  
or Religion they be.\*

**F**irst ; That the Abbot, Prior, or President,  
and all other Brethren of the Place that  
is visited, shall faithfully, truly, and  
heartily, keep and observe, and cause  
teach, and procure to be kept and obser-  
ved of other, as much as in them may lie, all and  
singular Contents, as well in the other of the King's  
Highness Succession, given heretofore by them, as in  
a certain Profession lately sealed with the Common  
Seal, and subscribed and Signed with their own  
hands : Also that they shall observe and fulfil, by all  
the means that they best may, the Statutes of this  
Realm, made, or to be made, for the suppression and  
taking away of the usurped and pretended Jurisdiction  
of the Bishop of Rome within this Realm : and for  
the assertion and confirmation of the Authority,  
Jurisdiction, and Prerogative of our most noble Sovē-  
reign Lord the King, and his Successors ; and that  
they shall diligently instruct their Juniors and Young-  
ers, and all other committed to their Cure, That the

\* Cott. Libr. Cleop. E. 4.

King's Power is by the Laws of God most excellent  
of all under God in Earth ; and that we ought to  
obey him afore all other Powers, by God's Prescript ;  
and that the Bishop of Rome's Jurisdiction or Autho-  
rity heretofore usurped, by no means is founded or  
established by Holy Scripture : but that the same,  
partly by the craft and deceit of the same Bishop of  
Rome, and by his evil and ambitious Canons and  
Decretals ; and partly by the toleration and permis-  
sion of Princes, by little and little hath grown up ;  
and therefore now, of most right and equity, is taken  
away and clean expelled out of this Realm.

Also, that the Abbot, Prior, or President and  
Brethren, may be declared, by the King's Supream  
Power and Authority Ecclesiastical, to be absolved and  
loosed from all manner Obedience, Oath, and Profes-  
sion by them heretofore perchance promised, or made,  
to the said Bishop of Rome, or to any other in  
his stead, or occupying his Authority ; or to any  
other Forreign Prince, or Person : And nevertheless  
let it be enjoined to them, that they shall not promise  
to give such Oath or Profession to any such Forreign  
Potentate hereafter. And if the Statutes of the said  
Order Religious, or Place, seem to bind them to  
Obedience, or Subjection, or any other Recognizance  
of Superiority to the said Bishop of Rome, or to any  
other Forreign Power, Potentate, Person, or Place, by  
any ways ; such Statutes, by the King's Graces  
Visitors, be utterly annihilate, broken, and declared



void and of none effect ; and that they be in no case bounden or obligate to the same, and such Statutes to be forthwith utterly put forth and abolished out of the Books, or Muniments of that Religion, Order or Place, by the President and his Brethren.

Also, that no Monk, or Brother, of this Monastery, by any means go forth of the Precinct of the same.

Also, that Women of what state or degree soever they be, be utterly excluded from entring into the Limits or Circuit of this Monastery, or place, unless they first obtain license of the King's Highness, or his Visitor.

Also, that there be no entring into this Monastery but one, and that by the great fore-gate of the same, which diligently shall be watched and kept by some Porter specially appointed for that purpose, and shall be shut and opened by the same both day and night, at convenient and accustomed hours ; which Porter shall repel all manner Women from entrance into the said Monastery.

Also, that all and singular Brethren, and Monks of this Monastery, take their refectiions altogether in a place called the Misericorde, such days as they eat Flesh, and all other days in their Refectory ; and that at every Mess there sit four of them, not of duty demanding to them any certain, usual, or accustomed duty or portion of Meat as they were wont to do ; but that they be content with such Victuals as is set before them, and there take their Refectiions soberly,

without excess, with giving due thanks to God ; and that at every such Refection, some Chapter of the New Testament, or Old, by some of the said Brethren, be read and recited to the other, keeping silence, and giving audience to the same.

Also, that the Abbot and President do daily prepare one Table for himself and his Guests thither resorting, and that not over-sumptuous, and full of delicate and strange Dishes, but honestly furnished with common Meats ; At which Table, the said Abbot, or some Senior in his stead, shall sit to receive, and gently entertain the Strangers and the Guests.

Also, that none of the Brethren send any part of his Meat, or the leavings thereof to any Person, but that there be assigned an Almoner, which shall gather the Leavings, both of the Covent and Strangers Tables, after that the Servants of the House have had their convenient Refectiions, and distribute the same to poor People ; amongst whom special consideration be had of such, before other, as be Kinsfolk to any of the said Brethren, if they be of like power and debility as other be ; and also of those which endeavour themselves, with all their will and labour, to get their living with their hands, and yet cannot fully help themselves for their chargeable Household, and multitude of Children : yet let not them be so cherished, that they shall leave labour and fall to idleness ; with consideration also specially to be had of them, which by weakness of their Limbs and Body be so impotent



that they cannot labour; and by no means let such Alms be given to valiant mighty and idle Beggars and Vagabonds, as commonly use to resort about such places; which rather, as drove-Beasts and Mychers, should be driven away and compelled to labour, than in their idleness and lewdness, against the form of the King's Graces Statute in this behalf made, cherished, and maintained, to the great hindrance and damage of the Common-Weal.

Also, that all our Almes or Distributions due, or accustomed to be made, by reason of the Foundation, Statutes, or customes of this place, be made and given, as largely and as liberally as ever they were at any time heretofore.

Also, that the Abbot, Prior, or President, shall find Wood and Fewel sufficient to make Fire in the Refectory, from Allhallow-even to Good-Friday.

Also, that all the Brethren of this House, except the Abbot, and such as be sick, or evil at ease, and those that have fulfilled their Jubilee, lie together in the Dormitory, every one by himself, in several Beds.

Also, that no Brother, or Monk, of this House, have any Child or Boy laying, or privily accompanying with him, or otherwise haunting unto him, other than to help him to Mass.

Also, that the Brethren of this House, when they be sick, or evil at ease, be seen unto, and be kept in the Infirmary duly, as well for their sustenance of Meat and Drink, as for their good keeping.

Also, that the Abbot, or President, keep and find in some University, one or two of his Brothers, according to the Ability and Professions of this House; which Brethren, after they be learned in good and holy Letters, when they return home, may instruct and teach their Brethren, and diligently preach the Word of God.

Also, that every day, by the space of one hour, a Lesson of Holy Scripture be kept in this Covent, to which all, under pain by this said President to be moderated, shall resort; which President shall have Authority to dispense with them, that they, with a low and treatable voice, say their long hours, which were wont to be sung.

Also, that the Brethren of this House, after Divine Service done, read or hear somewhat of Holy Scripture, or occupy themselves in some such like honest and laudable exercise.

Also, that all and every Brethren of this House shall observe the Rule, Statutes, and laudable Customs of this Religion, as far as they do agree with Holy Scripture and the Word of God. And that the Abbot, Prior, or President of this Monastery, every day shall expound to his Brethren, as plainly as may be, in English, a certain part of the Rule that they have professed, and apply the same always to the Doctrine of Christ, and not contrariwise; and he shall teach them, that the said Rule, and other their Principles of Religion (so far as they be laudable) be taken out of Holy Scripture; and he shall show them the



places from whence they were derived ; and that their Ceremonies, and other observances of Religion, be none other things than as the first Letters or Principles, and certain Introductions to true Christianity, or to observe an order in the Church. And that true Religion is not contained in Apparel, manner of going, shaven Heads, and such other marks ; nor in silence, fasting, up-rising in the night, singing, and such other kind of Ceremonies, but in cleanness of mind, pureness of living, Christ's Faith not feigned, and brotherly Charity, and true honouring of God in Spirit and Verity : And that those above-said things were instituted and begun, that they being first exercised in these, in process of time might ascend to those as by certain steps, that is to say, to the chief point and end of Religion : and therefore let them be diligently exhorted, that they do not continually stick and surcease in such Ceremonies and Observances, as tho they had perfectly fulfilled the chief and outmost of the whole true Religion ; but that when they have once past such things, they endeavour themselves to higher things, and convert their minds from such external Matters, to more inward and deeper Considerations, as the Law of God and Christian Religion doth teach and show. And that they assure not themselves of any Reward or Commodity any wise, by reason of such Ceremonies and Observances, except they refer all such to Christ, and for his sake observe them ; and for that they might thereby the more

easily keep such things as he hath commanded, as well to them as to all Christian People.

Also, that the Abbot and President of this Place shall make a full and true reckoning and accompt of his Administration every year to his Brethren, as well of his Receipts as Expences ; and that the said Accompt be written in a great Book remaining with the Covent.

Also, that the Abbot and President of this House shall make no waste of the Woods pertaining to this House, nor shall set out unadvisedly any Farmes or Reversions, without the consent of the more part of the Convent.

Also, that there be assigned a Book and a Register that may copy out into that Book all such Writings, word by word, as shall pass under the Convent-Seal of this House.

Also, that no man be suffered to profess or to wear the Habit of Religion in this House e're he be 24 years of Age compleat ; And that they entice nor allure no Man with suasions and blandyments to take the Religion upon him.

*Item*, that they shall not shew no Reliques, or feigned Miracles, for encrease of Lucre, but that they exhort Pilgrims and Strangers to give that to the Poor, that they thought to offer to their Images or Reliques.

Also, that they shall suffer no Fairs, or Markets, to be kept or used within the limits of this House.



Also, that every Brother of this House that is a Priest, shall every day in his Mass, pray for the most happy and most prosperous estate of our Sovereign Lord the King, and his most noble and lawful Wife Queen Ann.

Also, that if either the Master, or any Brother of this House, do infringe any of the said Injunctions, any of them shall denounce the same, or procure to be denounced, as soon as may be, to the King's Majesty, or to his Visitor General, or his Deputy. And the Abbott, or Master, shall minister spending Mony, and other Necessaries, for the way to him that shall so denounce.

Other Spiritual Injunctions may be added by the Visitor, as the place and nature of the Comperets shall require, after his discretion.

Reserving Power to give more Injunctions, and to examine and discuss the Comperets, to punish and reform them that be convict of any notable Crime, to search and try the Foundations, Charters, Donations, Appropriations and Muniments of the said Places; and to dispose all such Papistical Escripts as shall be there found, to the Right Honourable Mr. Thomas Cromwell General-Visitor to the King's said Highness, as shall seem most expedient to his high wisdom and discretion.

THE END.



## Four Historical Documents.





HISTORICAL REPRINTS.—XIV.

FOUR

Curious Documents.



- I. A Letter from Katherine of Arragon, to Mary, her Daughter.*
- II. Anne Boleyn's last Letter to Henry VIII.*
- III. The Proclamation of Lady Jane Grey's Title to the Crown.*
- IV. A Letter from the Princess (afterwards Queen) Mary, to her Father (Henry VIII.) 1536.*



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*This edition is limited to 200 small-paper copies,  
and 50 large-paper copies.*



### Four Curious Documents.

A Letter sent by Queen Katherine  
of Arragon, to the Lady Mary  
her Daughter.\*

DAUGHTER, I heard such tidings this day, that  
I do perceive (if it be true) the time is near that  
Almighty God will provide for you, and I am very  
glad of it, for I trust that he doth handle you with a  
good Love; I beseech you agree to his Pleasure with  
a merry Heart, and be you sure, that without fail he  
will not suffer you to perish, if you beware to offend  
him. I pray God, you good Daughter, to offer your  
self to him; if any pangs come to you, shrive your  
self, first make your self clean; take heed of his  
Commandments, and keep them as near as he will  
give you Grace to do, for then are you sure armed.  
And if this Lady do come to you, as it is spoken, if

\* Ex. MSS. Norfolkianis in Col. Gresham.



she do bring you a Letter from the King, I am sure, in the self-same Letter, you shall be commanded what you shall do. Answer you with few words, obeying the King your Father in every thing, save only that you will not offend God, and lose your Soul, and go no further with Learning and Disputation in the Matter; and wheresoever, and in whatsoever Company you shall come, obey the King's Commandments, speak few words, and meddle nothing. I will send you two Books in Latin, one shall be, *de Vita Christi*, with the Declaration of the Gospels; and the other, the Epistles of St. Hierome, that he did write always to Paula and Eustochium, and in them trust you shall see good things. And sometimes, for your Recreation, use your Virginals, or Lute, if you have any. But one thing specially I desire you, for the love that you owe unto God and unto me, to keep your Heart with a chaste Mind, and your Body from all ill and wanton Company, nor thinking nor desiring any Husband, for Christ's Passion; neither determine your self to any manner of living, until this troublesome time be past, for I dare make you sure, that you shall see a very good end, and better than you can desire. I would God, good Daughter, that you did know with how good a Heart I do write this Letter unto you: I never did one with a better, for I perceive very well, that God loveth you, I beseech him of his goodness to continue it: And if it shall fortune that you shall have no Body to be with you

of your Acquaintance, I think it best you keep your Keys your self, for whosoever it is, so shall be done as shall please them. And now you shall begin, and by likelihood I shall follow, I set not a rush by it, for when they have done the uttermost they can, then I am sure of the amendment. I pray you recommend me unto my good Lady of Salisbury, and pray her to have a good Heart, for we never come to the Kingdom of Heaven, but by troubles. Daughter whatsoever you become, take no pain to send to me, for if I may I will send to you.

By your loving Mother,  
Katherine the Queen.

—♦—♦—♦—  
Queen Anne Boleyn's last Letter to  
King Henry.\*

SIR,

YOUR Grace's displeasure, and my Imprisonment, are things so strange unto me, as what to write, or what to excuse, I am altogether ignorant. Whereas you send unto me (willing me to confess a Truth, and so obtain your favour) by such an one whom you know to be mine ancient professed

\* Cotton Libr. Otho C. 10.



Enemy. I no sooner received this Message by him, than I rightly conceived your meaning ; and as if, as you say, confessing a Truth indeed may procure my safety, I shall with all willingness and duty perform your Command.

But let not your Grace ever imagine that your poor Wife will ever be brought to acknowledge a Fault, where not so much as a thought thereof preceded. And to speak a Truth, never Prince had Wife more loyal in all duty, and in all true affection, than you have ever found in Ann Boleyn, with which Name and Place I could willingly have contented my self, if God, and your Grace's pleasure had been so pleased. Neither did I at any time so far forget my self in my Exaltation, or received Queenship, but that I always looked for such an alteration as now I find ; for the ground of my preferment being on no surer Foundation than your Grace's Fancy, the least alteration, I knew, was fit and sufficient to draw that Fancy to some other Subject. You have chosen me, from a low estate, to be your Queen and Companion, far beyond my desert or desire. If then you found me worthy of such honour, Good your Grace let not any light Fancy, or bad counsel of mine Enemies, withdraw your Princely Favour from me ; neither let that Stain, that unworthy stain of a disloyal heart towards your good Grace, ever cast so foul a blot on your most dutiful Wife, and the Infant-Princess your Daughter : Try me, good King, but let me have a lawful Trial,

and let not my sworn Enemies sit as my Accusers and Judges ; yea, let me receive an open Trial, for my Truth shall fear no open shame ; then shall you see, either mine innocence cleared, your suspicion and Conscience satisfied, the ignominy and slander of the World stopped, or my Guilt openly declared. So that whatsoever God or you may determine of me, your Grace may be freed from an open censure ; and mine offence being so lawfully proved, your Grace is at liberty, both before God and Man, not only to execute worthy punishment on me as an unlawful Wife, but to follow your Affection, already settled, on that Party, for whose sake I am now as I am, whose Name I could some good while since have pointed unto : your Grace being not ignorant of my suspicion therein.

But if you have already determined of me, and that not only my Death, but an infamous slander must bring you the enjoying of your desired happiness ; then I desire of God, that he will pardon your great sin therein, and likewise mine Enemies, the Instrument thereof ; and that he will not call you to strict account for your unprincely and cruel usage of me, at his General Judgment-Seat, where both you and my self must shortly appear, and in whose Judgment I doubt not (whatsoever the World may think of me) mine Innocence shall be openly known, and sufficiently cleared.

My last and only request shall be, That my self



may only bear the burthen of your Grace's displeasure, and that it may not touch the innocent Souls of those poor Gentlemen, who (as I understand) are likewise in strait Imprisonment for my sake. If ever I have found favour in your sight, if ever the Name of Ann Boleyn hath been pleasing in your ears, then let me obtain this request; and I will so leave to trouble your Grace any further, with mine earnest Prayers to the Trinity to have your Grace in his good keeping, and to direct you in all your Actions. From my doleful Prison in the Tower this 6th of May.

Your most Loyal and ever

Faithful Wife,

*Ann Boleyn.*

—♦♦♦—  
 The Proclamation of Lady Jane  
 Gray's Title to the Crown.  
 —♦♦♦—

JANE, by the Grace of God, Queen of England, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, and of the Church of England, and also of Ireland, under Christ in Earth the Supreme Head. To all our most Loving, Faithful, and Obedient Subjects, and to every of them, Greeting. Whereas our most dear Cousin Edward the 6th, late King of England, France,

and Ireland, Defender of the Faith; and in Earth, Supreme Head, under Christ, of the Church of England and Ireland; by his Letters Patents, signed with his own Hand, and sealed with his Great Seal of England, bearing the date 21st day of June, in the seventh Year of his Reign; in the presence of the most part of his Nobles, his Councillors, Judges, and divers other grave and sage Personages, for the profit and surety of the whole Realm, thereto assenting and subscribing their Names to the same, hath, by the same his Letter Patents, recited, That forasmuch as the Imperial Crown of this Realm, by an Act made in the 35th Year of the Reign of the late King, of worthy memory, King Henry the 8th, our Progenitor, and great Uncle, was, for lack of Issue of his Body, lawfully begotten; and for lack of Issue of the Body of our said late Cousin King Edward the 6th, by the same Act, limited and appointed to remain to the Lady Mary his eldest Daughter, and to the Heirs of her Body lawfully begotten: And for default of such Issue, the Remainder thereof to the Lady Elizabeth, by the Name of the Lady Elizabeth his second Daughter, and the Heirs of her Body lawfully begotten; with such Conditions as should be limited and appointed by the said late King of worthy memory, King Henry the 8th, our Progenitor, our Great Uncle, by his Letters Patents under his Great Seal, or by his last Will in writing, signed with his Hand. And forasmuch as the said Limitation of the Imperial Crown



of this Realm being limited, as is afore-said, to the said Lady Mary, and Lady Elizabeth, being illegitimate, and not lawfully begotten, for that the Marriage had, between the said late King, King Henry the 8th, our Progenitor, and Great Uncle, and the Lady Katherine, Mother to the said Lady Mary; and also the Marriage had between the said late King, King Henry the 8th, our Progenitor, and Great Uncle, and the Lady Ann, Mother to the said Lady Elizabeth, were clearly and lawfully undone, by Sentences of Divorce, according to the Word of God, and the Ecclesiastical Laws; and which said several Divorcements, have been severally ratified and confirmed by Authority of Parliament, and especially in the 28th Year of the Reign of King Henry the 8th, our said Progenitor, and Great Uncle, remaining in force, strength, and effect, whereby; as well the said Lady Mary, as also the said Lady Elizabeth, to all intents and purposes, are, and have been clearly disabled, to ask, claim, or challenge the said Imperial Crown, or any other of the Honours, Castles, Manours, Lordships, Lands, Tenements, or other Hereditaments, as Heir or Heirs to our said late Cousin King Edward the 6th, or as Heir or Heirs to any other Person or Persons whatsoever, as well for the Cause before rehearsed, as also for that the said Lady Mary, and Lady Elizabeth, were unto our said late Cousin but of the half Blood, and therefore by the Ancient Laws, Statutes, and Customs of this Realm, be not inherit-

able unto our said late Cousin, although they had been born in lawful Matrimony; as indeed they were not, as by the said Sentences of Divorce, and the said Statute of the 28th Year of the Reign of King Henry the 8th, our said Progenitor and great Uncle, plainly appeareth. And forasmuch also, as it is to be thought, or at the least much to be doubted, that if the said Lady Mary, or Lady Elizabeth, should hereafter have, or enjoy the said Imperial Crown of this Realm, and should then happen to marry with any Stranger born out of this Realm, that then the said Stranger, having the Government and Imperial Crown in his Hands, would adhere and practice, not only to bring this Noble, Free Realm into the Tyranny and Servitude of the Bishops of Rome, but also to have the Laws and Customs of his or their own Native Country or Countries, to be practised and put into use within this Realm, rather than the Laws, Statutes, and Customs here of long time used; whereupon the Title of inheritance, of all and singular the Subjects of this Realm do depend, to the peril of Conscience, and the utter subversion of the Common-Weal of this Realm: Whereupon our said late dear Cousin, weighing and considering within himself, which ways and means were most convenient to be had for the stay of the said Succession, in the said Imperial Crown, if it should please God to call our said late Cousin out of this transitory Life, having no Issue of his Body. And calling to his remembrance, that We, and the



Lady Katharine, and the Lady Mary, our Sisters (being the Daughters of the Lady Frances, our natural Mother, and then, and yet, Wife to our natural and most loving Father, Henry Duke of Suffolk; and the Lady Margaret, Daughter of the Lady Elianor, then deceased, Sister to the said Lady Frances, and the late Wife of our Cousin Henry Earl of Cumberland) were very nigh of his Graces Blood, of the part of his Fathers side, our said Progenitor, and Great Uncle; and being naturally born here, within the Realm. And for the good Opinion our said late Cousin had of our said Sisters and Cousin Margarets good Education, did therefore, upon good deliberation and advice herein had, and taken, by his said Letters Patents, declare, order, assign, limit, and appoint, that if it should fortune himself, our said late Cousin King Edward the Sixth, to decease, having no Issue of his Body lawfully begotten, that then the said Imperial Crown of England and Ireland, and the Confines of the fame, and his Title to the Crown of the Realm of France, and all and singular Honours, Castles, Prerogatives, Privileges, Preheminencies, and Authorities, Jurisdiccions, Dominions, Possessions, and Hereditaments, to our said late Cousin K. Edward the Sixth, or the said Imperial Crown belonging, or in any wise appertaining should, for lack of such Issue of his Body, remain, come, and be to the eldest Son of the Body of the said Lady Frances, lawfully begotten, being born into the World in his Lifetime, and to the Heirs Males of the Body of such eldest Son lawfully begotten; and so from Son

to Son, as he should be of vicinity of Birth of the Body of the said Lady Frances, lawfully begotten, being born into the World in our said late Cousins Life-time, and to the Heirs Male of the Body of every such Son lawfully begotten. And for default of such Son born into the World in his life-time, of the Body of the said Lady Frances, lawfully begotten; and for lack of Heirs Males of every such son lawfully begotten, that then the said Imperial Crown, and all and singular other the Premises, should remain, come, and be to us, by the Name of the Lady Jane, eldest Daughter of the said Lady Frances, and to the Heirs Males of our Body lawfully begotten; and for lack of such Issue, then to the Lady Katherine, aforesaid, our said second Sister, and the Heirs Males of her Body lawfully begotten, with divers other Remainders, as by the same Letters Patents more plainly and at large it may and doth appear. Sithence the making of our Letters Patents, that is to say, on Thursday, which was the 6th day of the instant Month of July, it hath pleased God to call unto his infinite Mercy, our said most dear and entirely beloved Cousin, Edward the Sixth, whose Soul God pardon; and forasmuch as he is now deceased, having no Heirs of his Body begotten; and also there remaineth at this present time no Heirs lawfully begotten, of the Body of our said Progenitor, and Great Uncle, King Henry the Eighth; And forasmuch also as the said Lady Frances, our said Mother, had no Issue Male begotten of her Body, and born into the World, in the life-time of our said Cousin King



Edward the Sixth, so as the said Imperial Crown, and other the Premises to the same belonging, or in any wife appertaining, now be, and remain to us, in our Actual and Royal Possession, by Authority of the said Letters Patents : We do therefore by these Presents signify, unto all our most loving, faithful, and obedient Subjects, That like-as we for our part shall, by God's Grace, shew our Self a most gracious and benign Sovereign Queen and Lady to all our good Subjects, in all their just and lawful Suits and Causes; and to the uttermost of our Power, shall preserve and maintain God's most Holy Word, Christian Policy, and the good Laws, Customs, and Liberties of these our Realms and Dominions : so we mistrust not, but they, and every of them, will again, for their parts, at all Times, and in all Cases, shew themselves unto Us, their natural Liege Queen and Lady, most faithful, loving, and obedient Subjects, according to their bounden Duties and Allegiance, whereby they shall please God, and do the things that shall tend to their own preservation and sureties ; willing and commanding all Men, of all Estates, Degrees, and Conditions, to see our Peace and accord kept, and to be obedient to our Laws, as they tender our Favour, and will answer for the contrary at their extream Perils. In witness whereof we have caused these our Letters to be made Patents. Witness our Self, at our Tower of London, the tenth day of July, in the first Year of our Reign.

*God save the Queen.*

*A Letter of Queen Mary to her  
Father. Anno 1536.\**

MOST humbly prostrate before the Feet of your most excellent Majesty, your most humble, faithful, and obedient Subject, which hath so extreamly offended your most gracious Highness, that mine heavy and fearful Heart dare not presume to call you Father, nor your Majesty hath any cause by my deserts, saving the benignity of your most blessed Nature, doth surmount all Evils, Offences, and Trespases, and is ever merciful and ready to accept the Penitent, calling for Grace in any convenient time. Having received, this Thursday at Night, certain Letters from Mr. Secretary, as well advising me to make my humble submission immediately to your Self; which because I durst not, without your gracious License, presume to do before, I lately sent unto him; as signifying that your most merciful Heart, and fatherly Pity, had granted me your Blessing, with condition, that I should persevere in that I had commenced and begun, and that I should not afterwards offend your Majesty by the denial or refusal of any such Articles and Commandments, as it may please your Highness to address unto me, for the

\* Cotton Libr. Otho. C. 20.



perfect trial of my Heart and inward Affection, and for the perfect declaration of the bottom of my Heart and Stomach.

First, I acknowledge my self to have most unkindly and unnaturally offended your most excellent Highness, in that I have not submitted my self to your most just and vertuous Laws. And for mine Offences therein, which I must confess were in me a thousand fold more grievous than they could be in any other living Creature, I put my self wholly and entirely to your gracious Mercy, at whose hand I cannot receive that punishment for the same that I have deserved.

Secondly, To open mine heart to your Grace, in these things which I have heretofore refused to condescend unto, and have now written with mine own hand, sending the same to your Highness herewith, I shall never beseech your Grace to have pity and compassion of me, if ever you shall perceive that I shall privily or apertly vary or alter from one piece of that I have written and subscribed, or refuse to confirm, ratify, or declare the same, where your Majesty shall appoint me.

Thirdly, As I have, and shall, knowing your excellent Learning, Vertue, Wisdom, and Knowledge, put my Soul into your direction; and by the same hath, and will in all things from henceforth direct my Conscience, so my Body I do wholly commit to your Mercy, and fatherly Pity, desiring no State, no Condition, nor no meaner degree of living, but such as

your Grace shall appoint me; knowing and confessing, That my State cannot be so vile, as either the extremity of Justice would appoint unto me, or as mine Offences have required or deserved.

And whatsoever your Grace shall command me to do, touching any of these points, either for things past, present, or to come, I shall as gladly do the same, as your Majesty shall command me. Most humbly therefore beseeching your Mercy, most gracious Sovereign Lord and Benign Father, to have pity and compassion of your miserable and sorrowful Child, and with the abundance of your inestimable Goodness, so to overcome mine Iniquity towards God, Your Grace, and Your whole Realm, as I may feel some sensible Token of Reconciliation, which, God is my Judge, I only desire, without other respect. To whom I shall pray daily for the preservation of Your Highness, with the Queens Grace, and that it may please him to send You Issue.

From Hunsdon, this Thursday, at eleven of the Clock at Night.

Your Graces most humble  
and obedient Daughter  
and Handmaid,  
MARY.

THE END.



HISTORICAL REPRINTS.—XV.

TWO  
Important State  
Papers.



- I. Sir Walter Mildmay's Opinion  
concerning the Keeping of the  
Queen of Scots.
- II. A Letter from the Earl of  
Leicester to the Earl of Sussex  
concerning the Queen of Scots.  
—  
1569.



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Sir Walter Mildmay's Opinion  
concerning the keeping of the  
Queen of Scots (October  
26. 1569,) at Windsor  
Castle.



The Question to be considered on, is,  
Whether it be less perilous to the  
Queen's Majesty, and the Realm, to  
retain the Queen of Scots in Eng-  
land, or to return her home into Scot-  
land?



IN which Question, these things are to be consider-  
ed. On the one side, What Dangers are like to  
follow if she be retained here; and thereupon, if so  
avoiding of them, it shall be thought good to return  
her, then what Cautions and Provisions are necessary  
to be had.

On the other side, are to be weighed the Dangers  
like to follow if she be returned home; and thereup-



on, if for eschewing of them, it shall be thought good to retain her here, then what Cautions and Provisions are in that Case necessary.

#### Dangers in retaining the Queen of Scots.

Her unquiet and aspiring Mind, never ceasing to practice with the Queen's Subjects. Her late practice of Marriage between the Duke of Norfolk and her, without the Queen's knowledge. The Faction of the Papists, and other Ambitious Folks, being ready and fit Instruments for her to work upon. The Commiseration that ever followeth such as be in misery, though their Deserts be never so great. Her cunning and sugred entertainments of all Men that come to her, whereby she gets both Credit and Intelligence. Her practice with the French and Spanish Ambassadors, being more near to her in England, than if she were in Scotland; and their continual solicitation of the Queen for her delivery, the denial whereof may breed War. The danger of her escaping out of Guard, whereof it is like enough she will give the Attempt. So as remaining here, she hath time and opportunity to practice and nourish Factions, by which she may work Confederacy, and therefore may follow Sedition and Tumult, which may bring peril to the Queen's Majesty and the State. Finally, it is said, That the Queen's Majesty, of her own disposition, hath no mind to retain her, but is much unquieted therewith, which is a thing greatly to be weighed.

#### Cautions if she be returned.

To deliver her into the Hands of the Regent, and the Lords now governing in Scotland, to be safely kept. That she meddle not with the State, nor make any alterations in the Government, or in the Religion. That by sufficient Hostages it may be provided, that neither Violence be used to her Person, nor that she be suffered to Govern again, but live privately, with such honourable Entertainment as is meet for the King of Scots Mother. That the League Offensive and Defensive, between France and Scotland, be never renewed. That a new and perpetual League be made between England and Scotland, whereby the Queen's Majesty may shew an open Maintenance and Allowance of the King's Authority and Estate, and of the present Government, so as the Scots may wholly depend on her. That the Regent, and the Lords of Scotland, do make no composition with the Scots Queen, neither suffer her to marry, without consent of the Queen's Majesty. That the Faults whereof she hath been accused, and her declining and delaying to Answer that Accusation, may be published to the World, the better to discourage her Factious Party, both here and in Scotland.

#### Dangers in returning Her.

The manner how to deliver her Home, with the Queen's Majesty's Honour and Safety, is very doubtful.



For if she be delivered in Guard, that came hither free, and at liberty, how will that stand with the Queen's Honour, and with the Requests of the French and Spanish Kings, that have continually solicited her free delivery, either into Scotland or France; or if she die in Guard, either violently or naturally, her Majesty shall hardly escape slander. If, again, she be delivered home at Liberty, or if being in Guard she should escape, then these Perils may follow.

The suppressing of the present Government in Scotland, now depending upon the Queen's Majesty, and advancing of the contrary Faction depending upon the French. The alteration of Religion in Scotland. The renewing of the League, Offensive and Defensive, between France and Scotland, that hath so much troubled England. The renewing of her pretended claim to the Crown of this Realm. The likelihood of War to ensue between France, Scotland, and Us, and the bringing in of Strangers into that Realm to our annoyance, and great charge, as late experience hath shewed. The supportation that she is like to have of the French and Spanish Kings. And though Peace should continue between England and Scotland, yet infinite injuries will be offered by the Scots Queen's Ministers upon the Borders, which will turn to the great hurt of the Queen's Majesty's Subjects, or else to her greater Charges 'to redress them; for the change of the Government in Scotland, will change the Justice which now is had, unto all Injury and

Unjustice. The likelihood she will revoke the Ear Bothwell, now her Husband, though unlawful, as is said, a man of most evil and cruel Affection to this Realm, and to his own Countrymen: Or, if she should marry another that were a-like Enemy, the Peril must needs be great on either side.

And albeit to these Dangers may be generally said, That such Provision shall be made, by Capitulations with her, and by Hostages from the Regent, and the Lords of Scotland, as all these Perils shall be prevented.

To that may be answered.

That no Fact which she shall do here in England will hold, for she will alleage the same to be done in a Forreign Country, being restrained of Liberty. That there is great likelihood of escape, wheresoever she be kept in Scotland; for her late escape there, sheweth, how she will leave no way unsought to atchieve it; and the Country being, as it is, greatly divided, and of nature marvellously Factious, she is the more like to bring it to pass. Or if the Regent, by any practice, should yield to a composition, or finding his Party weak, should give over his Regiment, Then what assurance have we, either of Amity or Religion. That the Regent may be induced to do this, appeareth by his late secret Treaty with the Duke of Norfolk, for her Marriage, without the Queen's Majesty's knowledg. And though the Regent should persevere constant, yet if he should be taken away directly, or indirectly, (the



like whereof is said, hath been attempted against him) then is all at large, and the Queen of Scots most like to be restored to her Estate, the Factions being so great in Scotland, as they are; so as the Case is very tickle and dangerous to hang upon so small a Thread, as the Life of one Man, by whom it appeareth the whole at this present is contained.

And touching the Hostages, though that Assurance might be good to preserve her from Violence in Scotland, yet it may be doubted how the same will be sufficient to keep her from escaping or governing again, seeing, for her part, she will make little Conscience of the Hostages if she may prevail; and the punishing of the Hostages will be a small satisfaction to the Queen's Majesty for the Troubles that may ensue. And for the doubt of her escape, or of Rebellion within this Realm, it may be said, That if she should not be well guarded, but should be left open to practice, then her Escape, and the other Perils, might be doubted of; but if the Queen's Majesty hold a stricter hand over her, and put her under the Care of a fast and circumspect Man, all practice shall be cut from her, and the Queen's Majesty free from that Peril. And more safe it is for the Queen to keep the Bridle in her own Hand, to restrain the Scottish Queen, than in returning her home, to commit that trust to others, which by Death, composition, or abusing of one Person, may be disappointed.

And if she should, by any means, recover her Estate,

the doubt of Rebellion there is not taken away, but rather to be feared, if she have ability to her Will. And if she find strength, by her own or Forreign Friends, she is not far off to give Aid, upon a main Land, to such as will stir for her; which, so long as she is here, they will forbear, lest it might bring most Peril to her self, being in the Queen's Hands. The like respect, no Doubt will move Forreign Princes to become Requesters, and not Threatners of her delivery.

And where it is said, That the Queen's Majesty cannot be quiet so long as she is here, but it may breed danger to her Majesty's Health. That is a matter greatly to be weighed, for it were better to adventure all, than her Majesty should inwardly conceive any thing to the danger of her Health. But as that is only known to such as have more inward Acquaintance with her Majesty's disposition, than is fit for some other to have. So again, it is to be thought, that her Majesty being wise, if the Perils like to follow, in returning her Home, were laid before her; and if she find them greater than the other, she will be induced easily to change her Opinion, and thereby may follow to her Majesty's great satisfaction and quietness.

Cautions if she should be retained.

To remove her somewhat nearer the Court, at the least within one days Journey of London, whereby it shall be the more easie to understand of her Doings.



To deliver her in custody to such as be thought most sound in Religion and most void of practice.

To diminish her number, being now about forty Persons, to the one half, to make thereby the Queen's Charges the less, and to give her the fewer means of Intelligence.

To cut from her all Access, Letters and Messages, other than such as he that shall have the Charge shall think fit.

To signify to all Princes, the occasion of this streight Guard upon her, to be her late practice with the Duke of Norfolk, which hath given the Queen cause to doubt: further assuring them that she shall be used honourably, but kept safely from troubling the Queen's Majesty, or this State.

That she be retained here, until the Estate of Scotland be more settled, and the Estate of other Countries now in garboil be quieted, the Issue whereof is like to be seen in a Year or two.



## A Letter Written by the Earl of Leicester,

TO THE

*Earl of Sussex, concerning the Queen of  
Scots; taken from the first Draught  
of it, written with his own hand.\**



My good Lord, I received your Letter in the answer of mine; and though I have not written sooner again to your Lordship, both according to your desire, and the necessity of our Cases at this time; yet I doubt not but you are fully advertised of her Majesty's Pleasure otherwise. For my own part, I am glad your Lordship hath prospered so well in your Journey, and have Answered, in all Points, the good Opinion conceived of you.

And touching her Majesty's further Resolution, for these Causes, my Lord, I assure you, I know not well what to write. First, I see her Majesty willing and desirous, as Reason is, to work her own Security, and the quietness of her State, during her time, which I trust in God shall be far longer than we shall live to see end of. And herein, my Lord, there be sundry Minds, and among our selves, I must confess to your Lordship, we are not fully agreed which way is best

\* Ex. MSS. Evelyn.



to take. And to your Lordship, I know I may be bold, beside the Friendship I owe you, the Place you hold presently, doth require all the understanding that may be, to the furtherance of her Majesty's good Estate; wherefore I shall be the bolder even to let you know as much as I do, and how we rest among us.

Your Lordship doth consider, for the State of Scotland, her Majesty hath those two Persons, being divided, to deal with, the Queen of Scotland, lately by her Subjects deprived, and the young King her Son Crown'd and set up in her Place. Her Majesty, of these two, is to chuse, and of necessity must chuse which of them she will allow and accept, as the Person sufficient to hold the principal Place. And here groweth the Question in our Council to her Majesty, Which of these two are most fit for her to maintain and join in Amity with? To be plain with your Lordship, The most in number do altogether conceive her Majesty's best and surest way is, to maintain and continue the young King in this his Estate, and thereby to make her whole Party in Scotland, which by the settling of him, with the cause of Religion, is thought most easiest, most safest, and most probable for the perpetual quieting and benefit to her own Estate, and great assurance made of such a Party, and so small Charges thereby, as her Majesty may make account to have the like Authority, and assured Amity in Scotland, as heretofore she had in the time of the late Regent.

The Reasons against the other, are these shortly.

The Title that the Queen claimeth to this Crown: The overthrow of Religion in that Country: The impossibility of any assurance for the observing of any Pact or Agreement made between our Sovereign and her. These be Causes your Lordship sees sufficient to dissuade all Men from the contrary Opinion. And yet, my Lord, it cannot be denied, upon indifferent looking into the Matter on both sides, but the clearest is full enough of Difficulties. And then, my Lord, is the Matter disputable; and yet I think verily, not for Argument-sake, but even for Duty and Conscience-sake, to find out Truth, and safest means for our Sovereign's best doing. And thus we differ. The first you have heard touching the young King.

On the other side this it is thought, and of these I must confess my self to your Lordship to be one: And God is my Judg, whether it be for any other respect in this World, but that I suppose, and verily believe it may prove best for her Majesty's own quietness during her time.

And here I must before open to your Lordship indeed her Majesty's true State she presently stands in; which, though it may be granted the former Advice the better way, yet how hardly it layeth in her Power to go thorow withal, you shall easily judg. For it must be confessed, That by the taking into her



protection the King and the Faction, she must enter into a War for it : And as the least War being admitted, cannot be maintained without great Charge : so such a War may grow, France or Spain setting in foot, as may cause it to be an intollerable War. Then being a War, it must be Treasure that must maintain it. That she hath Treasure to continue any time in War, surely, my Lord, I cannot see it : And as your Lordship doth see the present Relief for Mony we trust upon, which either failing us, or it rising no more than I see it like to be, not able long to last ; Where is there further hope of help hereafter ? For my own part I see none. If it be so, then, my Lord, that her Majesty's present estate is such as I tell you, which I am sure is true ; How shall this Counsel stand with security, by taking a Party to enter into a War, when we are no way able to maintain it ; for if we enter into it once, and be driven, either for Lack, or any other way, to shrink, what is like to follow of the Matter, your Lordship can well consider ; the best is, we must be sorry for that we have done, and perchance seek to make a-mends, where we neither would nor should. This is touching the present State we stand in. Besides we are to remember what already we have done ; how many ways, even now together the Realm hath been universally burdened.

First, For the keeping of new bands, after the furnishing of Armour ; and therein how continually the Charge sooner hath grown than Subsidies payed.

And lastly, the marvellous charge in most Countries against the late Rebellion, with this Loan of Mony now on the neck of it. Whether this State doth require further cause of imposition, or no, I refer to your Lordship ? And whether entering into a further Charge than her Majesty hath presently wherewithal to bear, it will force such a Matter or no, I refer to wiser to judg.

And now, my Lord, I will shew you such Reasons as move me to think as I do. In Worldly Causes, Men must be governed by Worldly Policies ; and yet so to frame them, as God, the Author of all, be chiefly regarded. From him we have received Laws, under which all Mens Policies and Devices ought to be Subject ; and through his Ordinance, the Princes on the Earth have Authority to give Laws ; by which also, all Princes have the Obedience of the People. And though in some Points, I shall deal like a Worldly Man for my Prince, yet I hope I shall not forget that I am a Christian, nor my duty to God.

Our Question is this ; Whether it be meeter for our Sovereign to maintain the young King of Scotland, and his Authority ; or upon Composition, restore the Queen of Scots into her Kingdom again ? To restore her simply, we are not of Opinion, for so I must confess a great over-sight, and doubt no better Success, than those that do Object most Perils thereby to ensue. But if there be any Assurances in this World to be given, or any Provision by Wordly Policy to be had,



then, my Lord, I do not see but Ways and Means may be used with the Queen of Scots, whereby her Majesty may be at quiet, and yet delivered of her present great Charge. It is granted and feared of all sides, that the Cause of any trouble or danger to her Majesty, is the Title the Queen of Scotland pretends to the Crown of this Realm. The Danger we fear should happen by her, is not for that she is Queen of Scotland, but that other the great Princes of Christendom do favour her so much, as in respect of her Religion, they will in all Causes assist her; and especially, by the colour of her Title, seem justly to aid and relieve her, and the more lawfully take her and her Causes into their Protection. Then is the Title granted to be the chief Cause of danger to our Sovereign. If it be so, Whether doth the setting up the Son in the Mothers Place, from whence his Title must be claimed, take away her Title in the Opinion of those Princes, or no, notwithstanding she remain Prisoner? It appeareth plainly, No; for there is continual Labour and means made, from the greatest Princes, our Neighbours, to the Queen's Majesty for restoring the Queen of Scotland to her Estate and Government, otherwise they protest open Relief and Aid for her. Then though her Majesty do maintain the young King in his present Estate, yet it appears that other Princes will do the contrary: And having any advantage, how far they will proceed, Men may suspect. And so we must conceive, that as long as this

difference shall continue, by the maintaining of these two, so long shall the same Cause remain, to the trouble and danger of the Queen's Majesty. And now to avoid this whilst she lives, What better Mean is there to take this Cause away, but by her own consent, to renounce and release all such Interest or Title as she claimeth, either presently or hereafter, during the Life of her Majesty, and the Heirs of her Body. Albeit, here may two Questions be moved.

First, Whether the Scots Queen will renounce her Title, or no?

Secondly, If she will do so, What Assurance may she give for the performance thereof?

To the first, It is most certain she hath, and presently doth offer, wholly and frankly, to release and renounce all manner of Claims and Titles, whatsoever they be, to the Crown of this Realm. during her Majesty's Life, and the Heirs of her Body.

And for the Second; She doth likewise offer all manner of Security and Assurances that her Majesty can devise, and is in that Queen's possible Power to do, she excepteth none.

Then must we consider what may be Assurances, for here is the difficulty. For that objections be that Princes never hold Promises longer than for their own Commodity; and what Security soever they put in, they may break if they will. All this may be granted; but yet that we must grant also, that Princes do daily Treat and deal one with another; and of necessity are



forced to trust to such Bonds and Assurances as they contract by. And as there is no such Surety to be had in Wordly Matters, but all are Subject to many Casualties; yet we see such Devices made, even among Princes, as doth tie them to perform that, which if they might conveniently chuse, they would not. And in this Matter of the Queen of Scotland, since she doth offer both to leave the cause of the differences that lie between the Queen's Majesty and her; and also to give all Surety that may be by our selves devised to observe the same; I do not see but such means may be devised to tie her so strongly, as though she would break, yet I cannot find what advantage she shall get by it. For beside, that I would have her own simple Renunciation to be made by the most substantial Instrument that could be devised. The assent of some others should confirm the same also. Her own Parliaments at home should do the like with the full Authority of the whole Estates. They should deliver her Son, and such other principal Noblemen of her Realm for Hostages, as the Queen's Majesty should name. She should also put into her Majesty's Hands, some one piece or two of her Realm, and for such a time as should be thought meet by her Majesty, except Edinburgh. The Queens Majesty might also, by ratifying this by a Parliament here, make a Forfeiture, if the Queen of Scotland should any way, directly or indirectly, go about to infringe this Agreement, of all such

Titles and Claims that did remain in the Queen of Scotland, after her Majesty and her Issue, never to be capable of any Authority or Sovereignty within this Realm. These I would think to be sufficient Bonds to bind any Prince, specially no mightier than she is. And this much more would I have, that even as she shall be thus bound, for the relief of her Title to the Queen's Majesty and her Issue; So shall she suffer the Religion received and established in Scotland already, to be confirmed and not altered. In like sort, the Amity between these two Realms, to be such, and so frankly united, as no other League with any Forreign Prince, should stand in force to break it. For I think verily, as the first is chiefest touching her Majesty's own Person, so do I judge the later, I mean, the confirmation of the Religion already there received, to be one of the assuredst and likeliest means to hold her Majesty a strong and continual Party in Scotland. The trial hereof hath been already sufficient when her Majesty had none other Interest at all, but only the maintenance of the True Religion, the same Cause remaining still the same affection in the same, Persons that do profess it, I trust, and it is like, will not change. And though the Scots Queen should now be settled in her Kingdom again, yet is she not like to be greater or better esteemed now than heretofore, when both her Authority was greater, and her good will ready to alter this Religion, but could not bring it to pass. No more is it like these further



Provisions being taken, she shall do it now. And the last Cause also is not without great hope of some good Success ; for as the oppression of Strangers heretofore had utterly wearied them of that Yoke, so hath this peaceable time, between them and us, made them know the Liberty of their own, and the Commodity of us their Neighbours.

This, my Lord, doth lead me to lean to this Opinion, finding thereby rather both more surety, and more quietness, for my Sovereign's present time, having, by the contrary, many occasions of trouble cut off, and the intolerable Charge eschewed, which I cannot find by any possible means, her Majesty able to sustain for any long time.

Thus hastily I am driven to end my long, cumbersome Letter to your Lordship, though very desirous to impart my mind herein to your Lordship.

Finis.

# HISTORICAL REPRINTS.—XVI.

THE  
EARL OF HERTFORD'S

EXPEDITION

Against Scotland.

1544.

*By Reginalde Wolfe*

~~~~~

PRIVATELY PRINTED.  
EDINBURGH.  
1886.



The  
late expedition in  
Scotland,

made by the King's  
Highness' army, under the con-  
duct of the Right Honourable  
the Earl of Hertford, the  
year of our LORD  
GOD

1544.

Londini.

*Cum privilegio ad imprimendum solum.*

*This Reprint is limited to 200 small-paper, and 50  
large-paper copies, printed on hand-made  
paper, and 400 copies printed on  
thick toned paper.*





## The Late Expedition in Scotland.

Sent to the Right Honourable Lord Russell,  
Lord Priby Seal; from the King's army  
there: by a friend of his.



FTER long sojourning, my very good Lord!  
of the King's Majesty's army at Newcastle,  
for lack of commodious winds, which long  
hath been at North East and East North  
East, much to our grief; as your Lordship,  
I doubt not, knoweth: the same—as God would,  
who doth all things for the best—the first of May  
[1544], the 36th year of His Majesty's most prosperous  
reign, veered to the South and South South West so  
apt and propice for our journey; being of every  
man so much desired, that there was no need to  
hasten them forwards. To be brief; such diligence  
was used that in two tides the whole fleet, being 200  
sail at the least, was out of the haven of Tynemouth  
towards our enterprise.



The third day after, we arrived in the Firth of Forth, a notable river in Scotland; having the entry between two islands, called the Bass and the May. The same day, we landed divers of our Boats at a town named Saint Mynettes, on the North side of the Firth, which we burnt; and brought from thence divers great boats, that served us afterwards to good purpose for our landing.

That night, the whole fleet came to an anchor, under the island called Inchkeith, three miles from the haven of Leith. The place where we anchored hath, of long time, been called the English road: the Scots now take the same to be a prophesy of the thing which has now happened.

The next day, being the 4th day of May, the said army landed two miles by west of the town of Leith, at a place called Grantham Crag: \* every man being so prompt thereunto, that the whole army was landed in four hours. And, perceiving our landing to be so quiet, which we looked not for; having our guides ready, we put ourselves in good order of war marching forwards towards the town of Leith in three battles—whereof my Lord Admiral led the Vanguard, the Earl of SHREWSBURY the Arrieregard; and the Earl of HERTFORD being Lord Lieutenant, the Battle—having with us certain small pieces of artillery, which were drawn by force of men: which enterprise we thought

\* Granton.

necessary to be attempted first of all other, for the commodious lodging of our navy there, and the landing of our artillery and victail.

And in a valley, upon the right hand, near unto the said town, the Scots were assembled to the number of 5,000 or 6000 horsemen, besides a good number of footmen; to impeach the passage of our said army; in which place, they had laid their artillery at two straits [*passes*] through which we must needs pass, if we minded to achieve our enterprise. And seeming, at the first, as though they would set upon the Vanguard: when they perceived our men so willing to encounter with them, namely, the Cardinal, who was there present, perceiving our devotion to see his holiness to be such as we were ready to wet our feet for that purpose, and to pass a ford which was between us and them; after certain shot of artillery on both sides: they made a sudden retreat; and leaving their artillery behind them, fled towards Edinburgh. The first man that fled was the holy Cardinal [BEATON] like a valiant champion; and with him the Governor, the Earls of HUNTLEY, MURRAY and BATHWELL, with divers other great men of the realm. At this passage, were two Englishmen hurt with the shot of their artillery; and two Scottish men slain with our artillery.

The Vanguard having thus put back the Scots, and eight pieces of their artillery brought away by our hackbutters [*harquebussiers*], who in this enterprise did very manfully employ themselves; we marched directly



towards the town of Leith ; which before we could come to, we must of force pass another passage, which also was defended a while with certain ensigns [*companies*] of footmen and certain pieces of artillery ; who being sharply assailed, having three of the gunners slain with our archers, were fain to give place ; leaving also their ordnance behind them, with which ordnance they slew only one of our men and hurt another.

And in this brunt, the victory being earnestly followed, the Town of Leith was entered perforce and won with the loss only of two men of ours and hurt of three : where the Scots had cast great trenches and ditches purposely to have defended it. The same night, the army encamped in the said Town of Leith ; and by reason of the said ditches and trenches, we made there a strong camp.

The morrow, being the 5th of May, we caused our ships laden with our great artillery and victuals to be brought into the haven ; where we discharged the same at our pleasure. In the said haven, we found many goodly ships, specially two of notable fairness : the one called the *Salamander* given by the French king at the marriage of his daughter into Scotland ; the other called the *Unicorn*, made by the late Scottish king [JAMES V.] The town of Leith was found more full of riches than we thought to have found any Scottish town to have been.

The next day, the 6th, the army went towards

Edinburgh, leaving the Lord STURTON in Leith with 1,500 men, for the defence of the same. And the army being come near to Edinburgh ; the Provost accompanied with one or two burgesses and two or three Officers at Arms, desired to speak with the King's Lieutenant ; and—in the name of all the town—said, “that the keys of the town should be delivered unto his Lordship ; conditionally, that they might go with bag and baggage, and the town to be saved from fire.” Whereunto answer was made by the said Lord Lieutenant, “that whereas the Scots had so many ways falsed their faiths ; and so manifestly had broken their promises, confirmed by oaths and seals, and certified by their whole parliament, as is evidently known unto all the world : he was sent thither by the King's Highness to take vengeance of their detestable falsehood, to declare and show the force of His Highness' sword to all such as should make any resistance unto his Grace's power sent thither for that purpose. And therefore being not sent to treat or capitulate with them, who had before time broken so many treaties :” he told them resolutely ; “that unless they would yield up their town unto him frankly, without condition, and cause man, woman, and child to issue into the fields, submitting themselves to his will and pleasure ; he would put them to the sword, and their town to the fire.” The Provost answered, “that it were better for them to stand to their defence than to yield to that condition.” This was rather a



false practice of the Provost and the Heralds, thereby to espy the force and order of our camp, than for any zeal they had to yield their town; as it appeared afterwards. Whereupon commandment was given to the said Provost and Officers at Arms, upon their peril, to depart.

In the meantime, word was brought by a Herald of ours—whom the Lord Lieutenant had sent to summon the Castle—that the Earl BOTHWELL and the Lord HUME with the number of 2,000 horsemen were entered the town, and were determined to the defence thereof. Upon which knowledge, the Lord Lieutenant sent with diligence to the Vanguard, that they should march towards the town. And Sir CHRISTOPHER MORICE, Lieutenant of the Ordnance, was commanded to approach the gate called the Cany gate [*Canongate*], with certain battery pieces: which gate lay so, that the ordnance must be brought up a broad street of the suburbs, directly against the said Cany gate; which was the occasion of the loss of certain of our gunners. And before that any battery could be made by the said ordnance, divers of the captains of the Vanguard—the better to comfort their soldiers—assailed the said gate with such courage, that they repulsed the Scottish gunners from the loupes [*embrasures*] of the same, and there slew and hurt sundry of their gunners, and by force drew one piece of artillery out of one of the said loupes.

Our archers and hackbutters shot so hotly to the

battlements of the gate and wall, that no man durst show himself at the defence of the same: by reason whereof, our gunners had good leisure to bring a cannon hard to the gate, which, after three or four shots, made entry to our soldiers; who at their breaking in, slew 300 or 400 Scots of such as were found armed. In the meantime, the Earl BOTHWELL and the Lord HUME with their company, fled, and saved themselves by another way issuing out towards the Castle of the said town. The situation whereof is of such strength that it cannot be approached, but by one way; which is by the High Street of the town; and the strongest part of the same Castle lieth to beat the said street: which was the loss of divers of our men with the shot of the ordnance out of the said Castle, which did continually beat along the said High Street. And considering the strength of the said Castle, with the situation thereof; it was concluded not to lose any time, nor to waste and consume our munition about the siege thereof. Albeit the same was courageously and dangerously attempted; till one of our pieces, with shot out of the said Castle, was struck and dismounted.

And finally it was determined by the said Lord Lieutenant utterly to ruinate and destroy the said town with fire: which for that the night drew fast on, we omitted thoroughly to execute on that day; but setting fire in three or four parts of the town, we repaired for that night unto our camp.



And the next morning, very early, we began where we left off, and continued burning all that day and the two days next ensuing continually, so that neither within the walls nor in the suburbs was left any one house unburnt : besides the innumerable booty, spoil and pillage that our soldiers brought from thence ; notwithstanding the abundance which was consumed with fire. Also we burnt the Abbey called Holy Rood House, and the Palace adjoining the same.

In the meantime, while we held the country, thus occupied ; there came unto us 4,000 of our light horsemen from the Borders, by the King's Majesty's appointment : who after their coming, did such exploits in riding and devastating the country that within seven miles every way of Edinburgh, they left neither pile, village, nor house standing unburnt, nor sacks of corn ; besides great numbers of cattle, which they brought daily in to the army, and met also with much good stuff which the inhabitants of Edinburgh had for the safety of the same, conveyed out of the town.

In this mean season, Sir NICHOLAS POINTZ, by order of my Lord Lieutenant, passed the river, and won by force the town of Kinghorn ; and burnt the same with certain other towns on that side.

After these exploits done at Edinburgh, and all the country thereabouts devastated ; the King's said Lieutenant thinking the Scots not to be condignly punished for their falsehood used to the King's Majesty, determined not to return without doing

them more displeasure. He therefore gave orders to the said Sir CHRISTOPHER MAURICE for the reshipping of the great artillery ; reserving only certain small pieces to keep the field : giving also commandment to every captain to receive victuals out of the said ships for their companies for six days. And for the carriage of the same, caused one thousand of our worst horsemen to be set on foot ; and the same horses divided equally to every captain of hundreds, for the better carriage of their victuals. The men that rode upon the said horses being appointed to attend upon the said victuals. Which was done. Besides there were divers small carts, which we recovered [*captured*] in the country ; the which with such cattle as we had there, did great service in drawing of our victuals, tents, and other necessities.

These things being supplied, the 14th day of May, we brake down the pier of the haven of Leith, and burnt every stick of it ; and took forth the two goodly ships, manned them, and put them in order to attend upon the King's Majesty's ships. Their ballast was cannon shot of iron ; which we found in the town to the number of 80,000. The rest of the Scottish ships meet to serve, we brought away : both they and our own being almost pestered [*encumbered*] with the spoil and booty of our soldiers and mariners.

That done, we abandoned ourselves clearly from the ships : having firm intent to return home by land. Which we did. And to give them [*the Scots*] better



occasion to show themselves in the field against us ; we left neither pile, village, town, nor house in our way homewards unburnt.

In the meantime of the continuance of our army at Leith, as is aforesaid ; our ships upon the seas were not idle ; for they left neither ship, crayer, nor boat belonging to either village, town, creek or haven of either side of the Firth between Stirling and the mouth of the river, unburnt or not brought away ; which containeth in length fifty miles. Continuing of time, they also burnt a great number of towns and villages on both sides the said water ; and won a fortress situated on a strong island called Inchgarve, which they razed and destroyed.

The 15th of May, we dislodged our camp out of the town of Leith ; and set fire in every house, and burnt it to the ground.

The same night, we encamped at a town of the Lord SEATON's where we burnt and razed his chief castle, called Seaton, which was right fair ; and destroyed his orchards and gardens, which were the fairest and best in order that we saw in all that country. We did him the more despite, because he was the chief labourer to help their Cardinal out of prison : who was the only author of their calamity.

The same day, we burnt a fair town of the Earl BOTHWELL, called Haddington, with a great nunnery and a house of friars.

The next night after, we encamped besides Dunbar,

and there the Scots gave a small alarm to our camp ; but our watches were in such a readiness that they had no vantage there, but were fain to recoil without doing any harm.

That night, they looked for us to have burnt the town of Dunbar ; which we deferred till the morning, at the dislodging of our camp : which we executed by 500 of our hackbutters, being backed with 500 horsemen. And by reason that we took them in the morning—who, having watched all night for our coming, and perceiving our army to dislodge and depart, thought themselves safe of us, were newly gone to their beds : and in their first sleeps closed in with fire—the men, women and children were suffocated and burnt.

That morning [the 17th] being very misty and foggy, we had perfect knowledge by our espials, that the Scots had assembled a great power, in a strait [*pass*] called "the Pease." The chiefs of this assembly were the Lords SEATON, HUME and BUCCLEUCH : and with them the whole power of the [Scotch] Marches and Teviotdale. This day in our marching, divers of their prickers [*scouts*] by reason of the said mist gave us alarm, and came so far within our army, that they unhorsed one between the Vanguard and the Battle ; being within two hundred feet of the Lord Lieutenant. At that alarm, one of their best prickers, called JOCK HOLLY BURTON was taken : who confessed that the said Scottish lords were ready at the passage [*pass*]



with the number of 10,000 good men. And forasmuch as the mist yet continued and did not break, being past noon, the Vanguard being within a mile of the said passage, entering into dangerous ways for an army to march in such weather that one could not descry another twenty yards off: we concluded if the weather did not break up, to have encamped ourselves upon the same ground; where we did remain for the space of two hours. And about two of the clock at afternoon, the sun brake out, the fog went away, and a clear day was left us: whereof every man received as it were a new courage, longing to see the enemy; who, being ready for us at the said passage, and seeing us come in good order of battle, as men determined to pass through them or to leave our bones with them, abode us but two shots of a falcon, but scaled every man his way to the high mountains, which were hard at their hands, and covered with flocks of their people. The passage was such, that having no let, it was three hours before all the army could pass it.

The same night, the army encamped at a pile called Ranton, eight miles from our borders: which pile was a very ill neighbour to the garrison of Berwick. The same we razed and threw down to the ground.

The next day, being the 18th of May, the whole army entered into Berwick, and ended this voyage; with the loss unneth [*of scarcely*] forty of the King's Majesty's people, thanks be to our Lord.

The same day, at the same instant, that the army

entered into Berwick, our whole fleet and navy of ships, which we sent from us at Leith, arrived before Berwick, as GOD would be known to favour our master's cause. Who ever preserve his most royal Majesty with long and prosperous life, and many years to reign in the imperial seat of the monarchy of all Britain.

¶ The names of the chief burghs, castles and towns burnt and desolated by the King's army, being lately in Scotland: besides a great number of villages, piles, and [home]steads which I cannot name.

THE burgh and town of Edinburgh, with the Abbey called Holy Rood House, and the King's Palace adjoining to the same.

The town of Leith burnt and the haven and pier destroyed.

The castle and village of Craigmillar.

The Abbey of New Battell.

Part of Musselburgh town, with the Chapel of our Lady of Lawret.\*

Preston town and castle.

Haddington town, with the friary and nunnery.

A castle of OLIVER SANCKLER's.†

The town of Dunbar.

Lawreston, with the grange.

\* Loretto.

† Sinclair's.



Drylawe.	Markle.
Wester Craig.	Trapren.
Enderleigh, the pile and the town.	Kirkland hill. Hatherwike.
Broughton.	Belton.
Thester Felles.	East Barnes.
Crawnend.	Bowland.
Duddingstone.	Butterden.
Stanhows.	Quickwod.
The Ficket.	Blackborne.
Beverton.	Raunton.
Tranent.	Byldy, and the tower.
Shenstone.	

¶ Towns and villages burnt by the fleet, upon the  
seaside ; with a great number of piles and villages  
which I cannot name nor rehearse, which be all  
devastated and laid desolate.

Kinghorn.	Part of Petynwaynes.*
S. Minetes.	The Burnt Island.
The Queen's ferry.	

Other new and prosperous adventures of late  
against the Scots.

AFTER the time that the Earl of HERTFORD,  
Lieutenant to the King's Majesty in the  
North parts of the realm, had dissolved the array,

\* Pittenweem.

which lately had been within Scotland ; and repaired  
to the King's Highness ; the Lord EURE, with many  
other valiant wise gentlemen—abiding in the Marches  
of the North part—intending not by idleness to surcease  
in occasions convenient, but to prove whether the  
Scots had yet learned by their importable losses  
lately chanced to them, to tender their own weals by  
true and reasonable uniting and adjoining themselves  
to the King's Majesty's loving liege people—took con-  
sultation by the advice of Sir RALPH EURE his son,  
and other sage forward gentlemen ; upon the 9th day  
of June [1544], at a place named Mylnefeld ; from  
whence by common agreement, the said lord with a  
good number of men, made such haste into Scotland,  
that by four of the clock after the next midnight, he  
had marched within a half mile of the town where-  
unto they tended, named Jedworth [*Jedburgh*].

After their coming, a messenger was sent unto the  
Provost of the said town, letting him to know “ that  
the Lord EURE was coming before the town to take it  
into the King's allegiance, by means of peace if there-  
unto the Scots would truly agree, or else by force of  
arms to sack the same if therein resistance were  
found.” Whereunto the Provost—even like to prove  
himself a Scot—answered by way of request, “ that  
they might be respected upon their answer until the  
noontide or else to maintain their town with defence : ”  
having hope that in tracting [*treating*] and driving off  
time they might work some old cowardly subtilty.



But upon his declaration made, the snake crawling under the flowers easily appeared to them, which had experience : knowledge also being had, that the townsmen had bent seven or eight pieces of ordnance in the market-stead. Wherefore the Lord EURE—part of his company being into three bands divided, and abiding at three several coasts of the same town, to the end that there might be three entries at one time made into the town—appointed and devised that the gunners, which had battered certain places plain and open, should enter in one side, and the kernes on another side, and Sir RALPH EURE's, of the third side. But it fortuned that, even upon the approachment of the men to their entries, the Scots fled from their ordnance, leaving them unshot, into the woods thereabout, with all other people in the same town. In which flight was slain above the number of 160 Scots, having for that recompense thereof, the loss of six Englishmen only. The people thus fled, and the town given to Englishmen by chance of war : the gunners burned the Abbey, the Grey Friars, and divers bastel and fortified houses, whereof there were many in that town : the goods of the same town being first spoiled, which laded, at their departing, 500 horses : besides seven pieces of ordnance.

In their return likewise, as they passed, burning divers places, towers and castles : as the Tower of Calling Craige, the Castle of Sesforth, Otterburn, Cowboge, Marbottle church, with many other like ;

until they came to a place called Kirkyetthum, being ten miles from certain villages within English ground, named Hetton, Tylnmouth and Twysell, which appeared to them burning. For the which cause Sir RALPH EURE and the Captain of Norham, accompanied with 500 horsemen, rode in such haste towards the fire, that at what time the said Sir RALPH did set upon the Scots which had burned the village, he had not met with above 200 horsemen. Nevertheless the Scots, upon the only sight of the standards, used for their defence their light feet, and fled in so much haste that divers English horses were tired in the pursuit : but overtaken there was a great number, whereof many were slain, partly by the fierceness of the Englishmen, partly by the guilty cowardice of the Scots. And truly to speak in a few words ; in this act doing, reason will scarcely suffice to persuade the truth : insomuch that there were divers Englishmen whereof every man had eight or nine prisoners, besides such as were slain whose number is certainly known to have been a hundred or more. And yet in this skirmish, not one Englishman taken, neither slain : thanks be to GOD ! Also further here is to be remembered that the Englishmen in their return from the sack of Jedworth, drave and brought out of Scotland into England, a great number of cattle, both note [*neat*] and sheep.

Furthermore to the apparent continuance of GOD's



favour unto the purposes of the Englishmen, it is to be certainly known, that on the 15th day of June [1544] there was another raid made by divers Englishmen to a town called Synlawes, whereat divers bastel houses were destroyed, eight Scots taken, and 60 oxen brought away. For the return whereof, a number of Scottish men pursued very earnestly; who for their coming, lost six of their lives, and fifty of their horsemen.

And upon the Tuesday next following, Sir GEORGE BOWES, Sir JOHN WITHERINGTON, HENRY EURE, and LIONEL GRAYE rode to the Abbey of Coldingham, and demanded the same; but it was denied earnestly, inso-much that after an assault made for five hours, it was burnt all saving the church, which having fire in the one end smoked so by the drift of the wind towards the Englishmen that it could not be conveniently then burned. The store of the cattle and of the other goods there, served well for the spoil of the soldiers. In this Abbey were slain one monk and three other Scots. And amongst the English was one only gunner slain by a piece of ordnance shot out of the steeple.

Since this journey, the 20th of June [1544] a company of Tynedale and Redesdale with other valiant men, ventured upon the greatest town in all Teviotdale, named Skraysburgh, a town of the Lord HUNTHILL'S; whereat besides rich spoils and great plenty of note [*neat*] and sheep, 38 persons were taken. Adding thereunto, that which is a marvellous truth,

that is to say, these prisoners being taken, three Scots being slain, with divers wounded: not one Englishman was either hurt or wounded.

In these victories, who is to be most highest lauded but GOD? by whose goodness the Englishmen hath had of a great season notable victories and matters worthy of triumphs. And for the continuance of GOD'S favour toward us, let us pray for the prosperous estate of our noble good and victorious Lord Governor and King &c.: for whose sake doubtless, GOD hath spreaded his blessing over us, in peace to have mirth, and in wars to have victory.

Imprinted at London in Paul's  
Church yard, by Reynold  
Wolfe; at the sign of the  
Brazen Serpent.  
Anno 1544.

*Cum privilegio ad imprimendum solum.*





Exact and certaine  
N E W E S  
From the Siege at  
Y O R K E.

And of many remarkable passages of our Armys in those parts, extracted out of diverse Letters which were sent by this last Post from *Hull*, to a Gentleman of *Graves-Inne*.

As also the taking of *Mulgrave* Castle, and in it Sir *Walter Vavasour*, Sir *Peter Middletons* eldest Sonne, and other Gentlemen of quality.

Together with the Relation of the Scots Second Army, advanced to *Blithenooke* in *Northumberland*, and their taking of *Morpeth* Castle.

With many other remarkable Observations.

\* \* \* \* \*

London, Printed for *Mathew Walbanke*.  
*Iuly* 3. 1644.



*This Reprint is limited to 200 small-paper and 50  
large-paper copies.*



AN  
EXTRACT  
OF  
Foure severall Letters written from  
HULL, and sent by this Post to a  
Gentleman of *Grayes-Inne*, by a prudentiall  
friend of his, newly returned thither from  
the Leaguer before  
VORKE.

**M**Y Lord of *Manchesters* Forces are daily in  
action, straitning the besieged in their  
quarters ; and battering about *Bowdan-  
Barre* and the Mannor, and the besieged  
frequently issuing forth, and skirmishing. *June 24*,  
there were about 20 taken, and as many slaine on  
the Kings party, and two or three hurt and slaine on  
my Lord of *Manchesters*, but this is reported some-  
thing diversly.

2. The Scots Forces for the most part stirre not,  
by reason the Enemie sallied not out so oft against  
their quarters.

3. My Lord *Fairfax* and his quarter is also often  
in action, about and against *Monck-Barre*.







ceiving, sent a shoare a Drake and 20 Musquetiers which by a mistake came to Sir *Hugh Cholmley*, and so were surprised, but we heard this day that *Whitby* is taken by Colonell *Bointon*, and that Drake, with 40 men and Armes taken, and one *Newton* is left Governour in it.

13. Wee now heare also from Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, who is about *Rippon* with his Army, that he cannot heare or learne that Prince *Rupert* is approaching any thing nearer *Yorke*, yet they are very cautious, and prepare for him, least that *Vbi-quitarian* steale on them unawares.

14. Our hopes are rather to starve then storme *Yorke*, but our desire is to have it by composition and yeeldance.

15. *Cawood* Castle had like to have beene surprised, by a partie of horse from *Pomfret*, but was prevented by the vigilancie of the Guards, though some prisoners escaped.

1. July 1644.

*Imprimatur,*  
JO. RUSHWORTH.

FINIS.





Historical Reprints.—XVIII.

AN  
ANSWER

TO THE

*Second Manifesto*

OF THE

PRETENDER'S eldest Son:

Which bears Date at the PALACE of *Holy-  
rood-house*, the 10th Day of *October*,  
1745.

CONTAINING

REFLECTIONS, POLITICAL and HISTORICAL,  
upon the last REVOLUTION, and the PRO-  
GRESS of the present *Rebellion* in *Scotland*.

---

*Tandem Triumphans.*

Motto of Pretender's Standard.

*Nondum Immemores.*

Answer.

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LONDON:

Printed for M. COOPER, at the *Globe* in  
*Paternoster Row*. 1746.

*Britannicae praeud*



*This Reprint is limited to 200 small-paper and 50  
large-paper copies.*



*An* ANSWER

TO THE

SECOND MANIFESTO

*of the Pretender's eldest Son, bearing  
Date at the Palace of Holy-  
rood-house, October 10, 1745*

**A**S the Second Manifesto of the Pretender's Son is composed with greater Art than the first, in order to justify and recommend his Enterprize; and for this Purpose, after certain *Promises*, he condescends to reason, or to *expostulate* with the Subjects of this Kingdom; and as Pains have been taken to disperse Copies of this Piece, a faithful Subject to King *George* has thought proper to communicate to his Fellow-Subjects the Reflections which occurred to him upon reading that Manifesto, in order to arm such of them as may not be so well informed as himself, against the Poison contained in it. And this he shall endeavour to do in such Manner, as not to do more Harm than Good, or to spread the Poison whilst he intends to give an Antidote; and yet will not dissemble or suppress any thing in it that looks



like *Argument*: Neither will such Discussion be useless in respect of those who have never seen that Manifesto, since it may contribute to confirm the Loyalty, and animate the Zeal of all his Majesty's Subjects in this Time of common Danger, to shew them the *Fallacy* of those Grounds and Arguments, upon which the Author of this Rebellion endeavours to justify and recommend it.

And as that Piece of his, affects to be pathetic in the Address which he makes to the Subjects of this Kingdom, the Respondent shall take the Liberty (which he presumes to be lawful, in this open and publick Manner) to make his Remarks, upon the Supposition as if the same were particularly address'd to the pretended Prince himself, to whom in that Case he would make his Return, or Answer, as follows.

\*\*\*\*\*

SIR,

**I** AM one of the subjects of this Kingdom who has seriously and attentively perused your Manifesto, of the 10th of October 1745, address'd to all his Majesty's Subjects of what Degree soever; and as it has not work'd upon me the Effect which was by you intended, I shall take the Liberty to offer my Reasons why it has not, and endeavour to do this with Candour and good Manners; without being abusive, or discovering any of that *Rancour and Ill-will*, from which

you are at Pains to dissuade, and which the Mischiefs already produced by your Attempt are very apt to beget. But my Intention at present, is to enter into a *calm, dispassionate Reasoning*, on the Subject of your Paper.

You begin with declaring, "that your Father's sole Intention is to *re-instate* all his Subjects in the full Enjoyment of their Religion, Laws, and Liberties,—not to enslave a Free People, but to remove the *Encroachments* made upon them."

This is your first general and capital Declaration, which attacks us upon the Side of our *own* supposed *Interest*, abstracting from the Consideration of your *Indefeasible Title*, and therefore I shall follow you in considering *these severally*. And upon this first Article, I would take the Liberty to ask, what is the Sense or Meaning of *re-instating the Subjects of this Kingdom in the full Enjoyment of their Religion, Laws, and Liberties*? For by the *first* of these, you declare in the same Paragraph, that you mean the Religion *at present established*; and that being the Case, for God's Sake, how can we be *re-instated* in the full Enjoyment of these good Things, for of which of them do we now stand *deprived*? Or upon which of them have *Encroachments* been made by the Government under which we are now living? It is not even in the Plentitude of Absolute Power to work Impossibilities, or to *restore* what has never been *taken away*. To make such a Declaration be listned to, you should have *enumerated* the *Grievances*, or *Encroachments*, of which you are pleased to offer us *Redress*: But you, and



your young Counsellors, seem not very well acquainted with the Constitution and Liberties of this Free Kingdom; and for your Information, I shall refer you to the *Declaration of those Rights and Liberties made by the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons assembled at Westminster, representing all the Estates of this Realm, upon the 13th of February, 1688.*

I know that the very Date of this will startle you, and that you will deny the Authority of any Thing transacted at that Period: But that I may not be thought to argue unfairly, I abstract at present from the Legislative Authority, which gave a Sanction to that Declaration, and shall come so low as only to quote it as a *Historical Proof* of the *Sense of this Nation*, and of the most Brave and Wise Men in it, concerning their *own Liberties*, which were then asserted and claimed as follows,

"That the pretended power of *suspending* of Laws, or the Execution of Laws, by Regal Authority, without Consent of Parliament, is illegal.

"That the pretended Power of *dispensing* with Laws, or the Execution of Laws, by Regal Authority, as it hath been assumed and exercised of late, is illegal.

"That the *Commission* for erecting the late Court of Commissioners for *Ecclesiastical Causes*, and all other Commissions and Courts of like Nature, are illegal and pernicious.

"That *levying Money* for, or to the Use of the

"Crown, by Pretence of Prerogative, without Grant of Parliaments for longer Time, or in other Manner than the same is, or shall be granted, is illegal.

"That it is the Right of the Subjects to petition the King, and all Commitments and Prosecutions for such petitioning, are illegal.

"That the raising or keeping a *standing Army* within the Kingdom in Time of Peace, unless it be with Consent of Parliament, is against Law.

"That the Subjects which are Protestants may have *Arms* for their Defence, suitable to their Conditions, and as allowed by Law.

"That *Elections* of Members of Parliament ought to be Free.

"That the *Freedom of Speech*, and Debates or Proceedings in *Parliament*, ought not to be impeached or questioned in any Court or Place out of Parliament.

"That excessive *Bail* ought not to be required, nor excessive *Fines* imposed, nor cruel and unusual *Punishments* inflicted.

"That *Jurors* ought to be duly impannelled and returned; and Jurors which pass upon Men in Trials for *High Treason*, ought to be Freeholders.

"That all *Grants* and Promises of Fines and Forfeitures of particular Persons before Conviction, are illegal and void.

"And that for Redress of all Grievances, and for the amending, strengthening and preserving of the Laws, *Parliaments* ought to be held frequently."



These are the *Rights and Liberties* that were then asserted and claimed, as being the true, ancient, and indubitable *Rights and Liberties of the People of this Kingdom*; and now, Sir, I ask you and all your Counsellors and Advocates, *which of all these* have been incroached upon, in the present, or in the late Reign? And if it be true, as all the Kingdom knows, that this must be answered, by saying, *Not one of them*, what Occasion is there for the *Redress of Grievances* which you are pleased to offer? There is a Book called the *Gospel*, which the Laity of your Church are not permitted to read, which says, *The whole have no Need of a Physician, but the sick*. Now, Sir, the good People of this Kingdom find themselves *already in the full Enjoyment of their Religion, Laws and Liberties*; and, in respect of *these most essential interests*, we are *perfectly sound and whole*; and yet, in order to persuade us to receive a Change of Government, you tell us that we are *sick*, and offer us your Service to *re-instate* us in what we are *already possessed of*, as fully as our Hearts can wish: And, in such a Case, you ought not to be surprised, that we are so universally unwilling to accept of any of your *Medicines*.

The *Second Article* of your Manifesto, is with regard to the *National Debt*, as to which you say that altho' it was contracted under an *unlawful Government*, and is now a most heavy Load upon the Nation, your Father is resolved to take the advice of his Parliament concerning it; a very comfortable Security truly, for the Proprietors of

*fifty Millions*, that instead of what they are now possessed of, an absolute Security that must be made good to them, of *Right and Justice*, they shall have the *Chance of a Vote* in a *future Parliament*, whether, by way of *Grace*, they shall be allowed to have any Property, or none at all!

With respect to the *Union of the two Nations*, you say, "Your Father cannot possibly ratify that, since he has had repeated Remonstrances against it from each Kingdom.—But whatever may be hereafter devised for the joint Benefit of both Nations, he will comply with the Request of his Parliaments to establish."

This is one Scene of Confusion that you fairly confess your Resolution to introduce, if that shall be in your Power; and that is alone, with me, a very weighty Argument for opposing your present Attempt with all my Might, and the like is the Sense of all persons of my Acquaintance of both Nations, who are now fully convinced, after a Trial of almost forty Years, that it is for the common Benefit of both the *British Nations* to stand united as they now are. And as I am ignorant of the Names and Arguments of the *Remonstrants* to whom you refer, I shall not trouble you with a farther Discussion of that Subject. I can easily conceive it to be the Interest of *France*, or of a King who seeks to become arbitrary in *England*, that *Scotland* should be rendered a *separate Kingdom*, as it was formerly; but to the *Subjects* of either Part of the united Kingdom, I am not able to discern the Advantages



that would accrue from such Separation, and am afraid we should become like Man and Wife after they are divorced, to hate one another more heartily, than if they never had been united.

These are the *Heads* of your *Declaration* or *Manifesto*, which you are pleased to confirm upon Oath in your own Name, as apparent Heir to the Crown; and then you condescend, "*to expostulate*" this weighty Matter with the Subjects of this "Kingdom, complaining that the Pulpits and Congregations of the Clergy, as well as our Weekly Papers, ring with the dreadful Threats of Popery and Arbitrary Power, and bid us listen only to "the naked Truth."

Now, Sir, it is true that such Alarms have been given:—But before I proceed to answer what you call the naked Truth, I must beg Leave to trouble you with a Quotation from one excellent Sermon, that was not published till after the Date of your Declaration; it is that of the Lord Bishop of *Oxford*, who, among many other good Things, has favoured the Publick with a Passage of the Acts of Pope *Clement* the XI. and cites the very Chapter and Verse, being *Tom. 2d. Page 179*, of these Acts, published in *Folio at Rome 1724*, where his Holiness declares, "all Promises whatsoever, or "Stipulations made in favour of Protestants, to be "utterly null and void, whenever they are prejudicial in any Manner to the Catholick Faith, the "Salvation of Souls, or to any Rights of the Church, "even tho' such Engagements have been often "ratified and confirmed by Oath."—Now Sir, this

same Pope *Clement* the XI. who reigned but lately, was reputed so moderate a Person, that he sometimes receiv'd the Appellation of the Protestant Pope; and yet you see what his Holiness gives us to expect from the Promises made to us Protestants, by those of the *Romish* Communion; You ought not therefore to be offended, if we believe his Holiness's Word, who forbids us to believe yours; and this at the same time without any personal Reflection upon you in particular, whom we may suppose as honest a Gentleman as the Religion of any Papist will suffer him to be in his Dealings with Protestants or Hereticks; especially as the *Principle* thus plainly avowed by a late Pope, was so strongly exemplified in the *Practice* of the late King *James* the II. your supposed Grandfather.

And now, Sir, I shall proceed to take Notice of such Parts of your Declaration as plead your own, or your Father's *Title* to the *Crown* of these Kingdoms; which is an *Argument* indeed very distinct from the Question of *Expediency*, whether for our own Sakes we ought to restore you. And I think it is fair, that the Question of *Right* and *Justice* ought to be considered, upon whatever Side the *Expediency* lyes; and I shall admit, that in discussing the Titles to Kingdoms, as well as in all other Questions of Property amongst Mankind, the *Honestum* and the *Utile* ought never to be separated, nor the former violated for the Sake of the latter; and you shall be at Liberty to make what Use you can of this Concession.



You say, "That the Government since the Revolution has been an *unlawful Government* ; that your Father cannot ratify the Union, for this among other Reasons, that the principal Point then in View, was the *Exclusion of the Royal Family from their undoubted Right to the Crown*. You mention the *Outcries* formerly raised against the Royal Family, and say that whatever *Miscarriages* might have given Occasion to them, they have been more than *aton'd* for since, for that your family have suffered Exile during these fifty-seven Years."

Here, Sir, I must humbly applaud your Candour, or your Policy, in at least tacitly admitting that these were *Miscarriages* truly committed, which gave Occasion to the *Outcries*, as you call them, that were formerly raised against your Family, and you seem also to admit that these *Miscarriages* were such as stood in need of *some Atonement*.

If I rightly apprehend your Meaning, it is then true, that even a King, taking the Crown by Succession or Hereditary Right, *may be in the wrong*, and commit *Miscarriages* ; and that these being committed, there is *some* Redress or Atonement due to the People.

If, on the other Hand, I mistake your Meaning ; if you hold the *Reverse* of this to be true, that every Step of your Grandfather's Administration was just and right, and every Effort of the Nation to oppose him, was disloyal and traitorous ; then it were in vain for us to talk of *Rights* and *Liberties*,

or of Laws for securing these, which you so readily promise ; for every one of the Liberties above recited, on Occasion of your Grandfather's having trampled upon them all, are in Reality nothing but the false Pretences of the Multitude, that are dependent upon the sole Will of the Prince, and may be violated, or resumed by him at Pleasure.

This is such a Doctrine as the present Generation, which has been born and grown up under the Days of Liberty, is not able to bear ; and therefore I still apprehend I am in the Right in my Construction of your Manifesto, as not meaning to profess or avow this Doctrine, but the contrary.

So far therefore we are agreed ; for when People hold Principles diametrically opposite, and each of them sticks to his own, there can be no such Thing as their arguing with each other. But if a King of England can *miscarry*, and thereby the People acquire a Right to some Redress or Atonement for that Miscarriage ; we are agreed in one Principle, and it remains only to examine what are the just Consequences to be deduced from it.

*Miscarriage* is a very wide and ambiguous Word, and may be applied to *Offences* of very various Degrees. You have been taught that there are *venial* and *mortal Sins*, and *in Foro soli*, this is true ; It is not every Fault of a young man that deserves being disinherited by his Father, nor every Fault of a wife that can legitimate her Divorce, or a total Dissolution of the Marriage-Covenant ; but there are such *Capital Offences* as may dissolve these most sacred and natural



Ties of the Conjugal and Parental Relations, which are the first Sources of all Society and Government amongst Mankind. The adulterous Wife may be divorced, and the Husband marry again, and beget lawful Issue capable to inherit: And though the natural Relation of Father and Son be indissoluble, because the Fact which existed cannot cease to be true, the mutual Obligations resulting from that Relation may be dissolved. Excessive Cruelty on the Part of the Father, emancipates the Son from the filial Duty and Obedience. Excessive Misbehaviour on the Part of the Son, intitles the Father justly to disinherit him, and to deprive him of that Protection and Provision, which otherways, by Nature, and by Law, had been *his Due*.

And do you think, Sir, it is possible that the voluntary, artificial Relation betwixt Prince and Subject, can be more sacred or indissoluble than these *original, universal, and natural Relations* of which I have been just speaking? This is not an Age, or a Country, in which there are many People who can call this in question.—The ridiculous Conceit of Indefeasible Hereditary Right: Or, as our Poet, lately deceased, expressed it—

*“The Right divine of Kings to govern wrong,”*

Is now almost universally exploded, unless it be amongst some gloomy Monkish Teachers, and their ignorant, bigotted, superstitious Disciples.

Now if this *Rule* in general be just, if Subjects be not the *very Property* of their Kings, if they are *capable of any Rights or Liberties* which may not

be violated with Impunity, or without Redress; if it be possible for the most cruel and tyrannical Monarch who can be conceived, to deserve being *dethroned*; in the Application of this Rule to Practice, where can the Judgment possibly be, but in the Majority of the People themselves, or of their Representatives, where the Nation is *so Populous* that they cannot be all assembled, or *so constituted*, as to act by Representatives of their own Election? For when Things come to this Extremity, there is *no common Judge* upon Earth to appeal to. The King and the People become as distinct and independent as any two States or Kingdoms, and the Differences betwixt them can only be decided by Force, or by War, which the Law of Nations calls *an appeal to God* for Decision.

It is therefore absolutely vain and sophistical, to argue that there can be no Law made in this Kingdom without the joint Consent of King, Lords, and Commons; that is no doubt true, so long as the Kingdom remains in its natural and regular State, but as soon as that is disturbed by illegal and violent Invasions on the Part of the Prince, of the essential, ancient, and indubitable Rights and Liberties of the People, the Frame of the Government is dissolved: Force becomes lawful on the other Side, by Way of Defence. There is a *Right* competent to the People, which must have a *Remedy*; and it is impracticable to pursue that Remedy in the usual regular Course, in which the Body Politick acts, when the Head and



Members are in their healthy natural State ; each of them performing their proper Functions.

To illustrate this Truth to you, Sir, I need go no further than to appeal to your own recent Practice, within these few Days or Weeks. You are now engaged in an Enterprize, to recover by Force of Arms, the Crown of these Kingdoms, as being the supposed Right of your Father : this Declaration of yours professes that he has no other Intention than to re-instate all his Subjects in the full Enjoyment of their Religion, Laws and Liberties ; and to redress and remove the supposed Encroachments made upon these.—Now in the Prosecution of this Attempt you take Notice, that you are already Master of the ancient Kingdom of *Scotland* : And after what Manner is it that you are now governing that Kingdom ? Not surely according to the Laws and Constitutions of that Country, even as they stood before the Union ; but by an Arbitrary, Despotick, Military Government, as truly such as that which was executed by the Usurper *Cromwell*, after the Murder of your Great Grandfather, and the Conquest of that Kingdom, when there was one General or Visier over the whole, and inferior Major-Generals or Bashaws in every Province ; so you govern without Magistrates, raise Money without a Parliament, take Contributions as from an Enemy's Country.—

The only possible Excuse for these *Irregularities*, is the Necessity of the present Conjuncture, when you are but attempting to recover this Kingdom for your Father ; tho' I do not find, that in any

publick Act of yours, even this Excuse has been offered : But supposing it, for Argument's Sake, a just one, it is an Example, in your own Practice, of what I have been now urging. And if it be true, that the *Necessity* of an *extraordinary Conjuncture* may justify a King acting *without a Parliament*, in such Things as the levying of Money from the Subject, which, by the Constitution in its natural and regular State, requires the Consent of Parliament, does not the like Necessity serve to legitimate the Parliament, or Estates of the Kingdom, their acting *without the Authority* of the *Crown*, when that Authority cannot possibly be obtained ? The Subject-Matter of their Deliberations being the *Miscarriages*, as you call them, of the King himself, and the *Atonement* or *Redress*, which the Nation shall take for these Miscarriages.

These Miscarriages may be so *heinous*, as well to merit a total and absolute *Deprivation* of the Crown, or the *Expulsion* of the Tyrant and his whole Family. It is not the usual Temper of this Nation to be capable of such a cruel Policy, as we find in History has been often practised on such Occasions, to exterminate the whole Race of the Tyrant ; and therefore we all agree with you, in condemning and deploring the Murder of King *Charles the First* : But we applaud the old *Romans* for the *Expulsion* of the *Tarquins* ; after which that brave People were at Liberty to make their Election, whether to alter the Form of the Government, as they did, by erecting that Republick, which became the Mistress of the World ; or to



continue their original Form of Government, by conferring the *regal Power* upon a *New Family*.

If it be objected, that there is no Equity in causing the Innocent to suffer for the Guilty ; that your Father was an Infant, and you yourself was unborn, when your Grandfather committed those Miscarriages, that proved fatal to him ; we answer, That in *strict Justice*, as well as *sound Policy*, the Children must *suffer consequentially*, through the Crime of the Father ; and such is the universal Sense and Practice of Mankind. Upon this Principle it is, that by the Laws of all Nations, when the Traitor who rebels against his Sovereign forfeits his Life, his Estate and Dignities, the Children are deprived of the two last by Consequence ; and there can be no good Reason why this should not be *reciprocal*, when the Prince, for the Time being, forfeits his Crown by Tyranny : For however in Point of Dignity, there is no Comparison betwixt the King and any one Subject ; the Interest of the *whole Body* of the People must outweigh the particular separate Interest of the King and his Family ; for it was for *their Sakes* that *he* was invested with *that Dignity*. We, Sir, are one of the Northern Nations, who still retain the Spirit of Liberty ; and firmly believe, that Subjects were not made for Princes, but Princes for Subjects. We cannot enter into the wild Notions that prevail amongst the slavish People in despotick Governments, such as those in the *Asiatick* Nations, and elsewhere, who entertain a Kind of idolatrous Veneration for their Monarach, and the supposed sacred Line of

his Family ; and therefore you must not think it strange, if we argue in treating a Question betwixt King and People upon the *common Principles* of *Right* and *Justice*, and the Laws of eternal *Reason*, which are superior to the Governors, as well as the Governed, and are no less binding on the one than on the other.

And as it is *just* that the Son, however personally innocent, should not inherit the Crown which his father forfeited by his Miscarriages, it is manifestly inconsistent with *Prudence*, or sound Policy, in most Cases, to forbear the application of this rule ; for if a free People could do no more than deprive and expel the Father, and then give the Crown to the very next in the order of Succession, where would the true Patriots be found, who would venture to oppose the grossest Miscarriages of the reigning Prince ? For supposing the Son to be himself better disposed, or wise enough to take Example by his father's Misfortune, and forbear going to the like Extremities, the least ill Consequence that could be apprehended would be, that the opposers of his Father ; that is, the most brave wise, active and considerable Subjects in the kingdom, must be in Disgrace, neglected, discountenanced, the Publick deprived of their Abilities, and they and their Families suffer all the Indignities and Hardships that could be with Safety inflicted.

The Reason for excluding the Son is yet more general and conclusive, when he happens, as was the Case of your unfortunate Father, to be educated in those very principles, or in that religious Persua-



sion, which was the chief Cause of all the Miscarriages of his Father ; for then, as the *like Causes* are apt to produce the *like Effects*, the People would be greatly wanting to themselves, and provide very imperfectly for their own security, if, instead of the Father, they should take for their Prince his Son, trained up, and filled with the same pernicious Notions, which produced the Miscarriages of the Father, and the Calamities of the Kingdom, that rendered his Expulsion both just and necessary.

Such being the Principles entertained by every brave and free people, in all the Ages and Countries of the Earth, be pleased to reflect, Sir, with what *Moderation* this Nation proceeded at the late Revolution, which happened during the Reign of your unfortunate Grandfather. He had grossly violated all the Rights and Liberties of the people, which I have above recited in their own Words ; he moreover discovered an *obstinate Resolution to persist* in his *Attempt*, and to make the same good by *Force*, as soon as he should be enabled ; and this by his abandoning the Kingdom once and again, and carrying with him the Infant, whom he own'd to be his Son, and whom I am supposing to be truly such, without laying any Stress in my Argument on the suspicious Circumstances attending his Birth, or the preceding Pregnancy of the Queen. But this Retreat affords an Evidence that the *King's Purpose* was *not changed* by the Revolt of his People ; and that he was determined either to impose his Religion, and what he conceived to be his Prerogative, or not to hold his Crown, unaccompanied with these.

And even the message said to be sent to him at *Whitehall*, cannot hinder me from concluding such to have been his Determination ; for he had no Reason to apprehend the Fate of his Father ; the Hero, whom we call our Deliverer, who was himself a Prince, Son-in-Law and Nephew to this unfortunate King, was incapable of acting the Part of a *Cromwell* ; the Piety of the two Daughters would have farther contributed to have prevented it, nor would the general Temper of the Nation in that Age have bore such a Catastrophe. Nothing therefore could determine that unfortunate King to depart once and again, but the fixt Resolution I have already mentioned, to carry through his Scheme by Force ; for otherwise, and if he had been resolved to give up that Scheme, after he saw such manifest Proofs of the Aversion of the whole Nation, and his own Family to it, it is easy and obvious to see what must have been his Conduct ; he would have remained in his Palace, and granted all the demands of the Prince of *Orange's* Declaration, and agreed to the very Thing which you now promise by yours, when it comes a great deal too late ; namely, *to refuse nothing that a free Parliament could have asked, for the Security of the Religion, Law, and Liberties of the People.*

Now, as he might, and ought to have done this, and did not do it, which was the only Method of retaining his Crown, consistent with that Security of the Religion and Liberties of his People, it is evident, that he did indeed *abdicate* his Crown.— And, in respect of the many essential *Miscarriages* by him *committed*, and *persisted in*, the People had



undeniable Reasons to declare the *Throne vacant*; and, having thus far done themselves Justice, and provided for their own Security against the Evils of Popery and Slavery, with which they had been threatened, it remained for them to provide for the *future Government* of this Kingdom, by making a *new Settlement*.

Here it was that the Wisdom and Moderation of the leading Men of this Nation, at that Time, was discovered; it was a *Regal Government*, tho' limited by Laws, and they resolved that it should continue such, justly dreading a Relapse into the Anarchy and Confusions, and the Despotick Government of the Usurper, which had succeeded the Abolition of the Royal Authority about the Middle of that Century.

It was a *Hereditary Kingdom*, tho' not *inde-feasibly such*; and therefore they departed as little as possible from the regular course of Succession in the Royal Family, and no farther than was necessary for securing the Liberties of the Subject; they acted as any wise and good Man would do, who is master of his own Estate. If his eldest Son proves unworthy, and merits being disinherited, he will settle his estate on his second Son, and his Issue in their Order: And thus we settled the Crown on the eldest Daughter of the abdicated Prince; and default of her issue, on the Second Daughter; in default of her issue on that of the Prince of *Orange* himself, who was the next in Succession; if he should have any by another Wife than the Princess *Mary*. And when the Prospect of Successors failed amongst

the Protestant descendants of King *Charles* the First, the Nation looked out for the next Protestant Heir, who was a grandchild of King *James* the First, and settled the Crown upon her, and the Heirs of her Body, being Protestants.

Thus was the Constitution maintained, and the Government re-established in its natural and regular State of a *Limited* and *Hereditary Monarchy*, which fell afterwards by Succession, upon the Death of Queen *Anne*, to the late King *George*; a Prince who was born of a Dignity next to the Regal; whose Family have been remarkable for affording good Princes over their subjects, whom they are entitled to govern absolutely; who was himself, as mild and amiable a Monarch as ever reigned. He was succeeded by our present Sovereign, whom all the World must allow to be remarkably possess of two Virtues, the most deserving of Esteem amongst Mankind, *Probity* and *Magnanimity*: And for the *Mildness* of his Government, let this singular Circumstance bear Witness; that we are now in the 19th Year of his reign, and hitherto not one Drop of Blood shed for a *State Crime*, even in the legal Method of Trial, tho' there have not been wanting Occasions, even before you was pleased to make us a Visit, for just Severities of that Kind.

Of this Prince, now reigning, the Nation is blessed with a numerous and hopeful Issue; whereof the greater Part have been born and educated amongst ourselves.

And the Case so standing, in respect of the *Abdication* of your Grandfather, and the succeed-



ing *New Settlement* of the Crown, in the *Protestant Line* of the *Royal Family*; which has already taken *Effect*, during the space of *Fifty-seven Years*, which you mention as the *Duration* of the *Exile* of your *Family*; and urge as being more than sufficient *Atonement* for the *Miscarriages* of your *Grandfather*: You come, Sir, a great deal *too late* with your *Professions* of *Repentance*, and *Promises* of *Amendment*; for as I began with the *Question* of *Expediency*, I am now considering the *Question* of *Right* and *strict Justice*, and by *this* you are *cut off*, independent of the former.

This is indeed the true State of the *Question*, where the *Right* and *Title* now lies; and upon this I maintain, that supposing a great deal, which is not true, that your *Family* was not still *Popish*, bred at *Rome*, and favoured by *France*, the natural *Enemy* of *Great Britain*, and the common *Enemy* of the *Liberties* of *Europe*; supposing you were sincere in your *Promises*, and that your *Religion* did not authorize and require you to break them; and supposing you personally, as I am willing to believe, possessed of many good *Qualities* becoming a *Prince*, still you come too late; we cannot listen to your *Declaration*, tho' you should lift up your *Voice* like *Esau*, and cry, *Have you but one Blessing, O my People*. For it is true that we have *but one*, and that is *already conferred* and *settled* upon thy *Protestant Brother*; and we cannot *with Justice* deprive him of it, supposing we could do it with *Prudence*, or consistently with the *Security* of our *Religion*, *Laws* and *Liberties*.

And to make you sensible of the *Force* of this *Consideration*, if you can see the *Truth* when it is repugnant to your own *Interest* and *Wishes*, suffer me to resume a familiar *Comparison*, which I mentioned before, to justify the *Abdication* or *Expulsion* of *Tyrant Kings*, after the *Example* of the *Dissolubility* of the most intimate and sacred *Ties* amongst *Mankind*, such as that of *Marriage* itself, where the *Laws* allow the *unfaithful Wife* to be *put away*, and the *injured Husband* to espouse another. Now let me suppose that all this happens, that *Settlements* are made, and a numerous *Issue* begotten of that second *Marriage*; in the mean while, the divorced *Wife* becomes a *true Penitent*, celebrated as a *La Valliere* for her *Piety*: And I will farther suppose, that her *Person* is yet agreeable, and her *Affection* for her once injured *Husband* is become more flaming than ever; and he himself so good-natur'd, that he could find in his *Heart* to forgive her, and to take her back into his *House* and *Bed*, if he were at *Liberty*. But I ask you, Sir, *is he at Liberty*? Or would he not *now* be as *wicked*, as she formerly was, (supposing him an absolute *Prince*, and unrestrained by *Laws*) if he should turn his *present Wife*, and *her Children*, out of *Doors*: a *Wife*, who was his *Equal* in *Rank*, and had always behaved well, in order to the resuming the *Returning Penitent*?

Again, to pursue the *Comparison* a little farther, and put the *Question* concerning one who was at first not personally guilty, and proved afterwards deserving, let me suppose, that the divorced *Wife*



had found Means to escape into foreign Parts, and to carry with her an only Child, who was born during the Subsistence of the Marriage; a Child, concerning the Legitimacy of whose *Birth* the Husband was *doubtful*, but whose *Education* he was *sure* would be the *very Reverse* of what he would chuse to give to his *Heir*; for that the Child must be brought up in Principles, inconsistent with the Honour, Interest, and Prosperity of his Family. In such Case, would any Man living, who had full Power over his own Estate, hesitate to *disinherit* the *Child*, carried off in these Circumstances, and educated in this Manner? After which, to provide for his own Succession, he courts and espouses a second Wife, of high Quality, and easy Fortune, tho' inferior to his; and by the Marriage-Covenant settles the Estate upon the Issue of that second Marriage, of which there is a numerous Offspring; then I will suppose, to state the present Argument in the fairest Light, that the disinherited Son of the divorced Wife, or if you please, Sir, that his Son again, proves to be a Person of very good and deserving Qualities; and applies earnestly to the Father of this Family, to restore him, (who, but for these Misfortunes, would have been the *Lineal Heir*) to the Quality of *Successor* to this Estate: And I ask, if the Father could listen to that Request, consistently to the Rules of Honour and Justice? It is impossible, for the Case is no longer entire; there is a Right acquired by the present Wife and her Issue, of which it is not in the Power of the Husband, were he so minded, to deprive

them; and no Man of common Probity, would ever once think of attempting such monstrous Injustice.

The Resolution of these Questions, if they may be called such, will imply the Answer, which we of this Nation can only make with Justice, to your Manifesto of *October 10th, 1745*.

And it can add no Force to this last Manifesto, that it bears Date at the Palace of *Holy-rood-house*, as those first published bore Date at *Paris* and *Rome*, from which Places no Good is to be expected to a *Protestant* and *Free* Country. You observe indeed, "That Providence has hitherto favoured you with a wonderful Success, led you in the Way to Victory, and to the Capital of that ancient Kingdom, tho' you came without any foreign Force: And you ask, *Why then is so much Pains taken to spirit up the Minds of the People against this your Undertaking?*"

I have already given you my humble Reasons, which, I trust, are far from being peculiar to me, for this Nation's heartily opposing your Undertaking; because the favouring it would neither be *wise* nor *just*, *expedient* nor *honest*, but would render us *most certainly wicked*, and *most probably miserable*. And as for the *Success*, of which you boast, give me leave to observe certain *Facts*, of which you cannot be ignorant, that leave no room for concluding, from that temporary and *surprising Success*, (as you justly term it in one of your Proclamations) that your Enterprize is favoured by Heaven.—

You know, Sir, that you took your Opportunity



when the far greater Part of the National Troops of this Kingdom, and even the Life-Guards were beyond Seas, engaged in the War on the Continent with your Friend the *French King*. You landed in a remote, and hardly accessible Corner of the North-West Highlands of *Scotland*, where there are Papists, and others your most assured Friends; here you persuaded two or three Gentlemen, and their Followers, to join you with such Arms as you brought along with you, and as they were yet possessed of, notwithstanding the Law made in the Beginning of the late Reign, for disarming the whole *Highlands*: A Law which has proved of singular Use to you on this Occasion, for it took little Effect but amongst the Friends of the Government in those Parts; who were numerous enough, and sufficiently disposed to have crush'd your Attempt in the Beginning, had not their *Hands* been thus *tied up*, that they could not act without being *furnished with Arms*, and *special Orders* to use them. The King's Officers or Ministers, who had the Charge of the Affairs of that Country, appear, for some time, to have *disbelieved your Landing*; and after that to have too much *despised your Force*; and relied wholly on the small Body of Regular Troops in that Country, as being sufficient to defeat you. These were ordered to march to the Mountains for that Purpose; and being there, they found out, what might have been easily foreseen, that it was unsafe for a Small Body of Regular Troops, without the Assistance of any *Highlanders*, to attack an Enemy consisting of

*Highlanders*, in their own Mountains and narrow Passes. Upon which our Army, instead of returning to guard the *Low Country*, by long Marches, passed by you, and went to *Inverness*, and returned by a very tedious Rout, by Land and Sea; which gave you Opportunity and Time to advance without Opposition, and possess yourself of the Capital; where your own Gazette says you arrived with an Army of Five thousand Men.

The City of *Edinburgh*, as I have been well informed, tho' it surrendered to you, is far from being on your Side; it had taken Measures which might have effectually kept you out for a few Days till Succour came: But as that Succour was coming by Sea, and consequently its Arrival very uncertain; and, upon your Approach, the two Regiments of Dragoons shamefully retreated in the Sight of that City; and then the Timidity of some, and Disaffection of others, raised an Outcry for surrendering a populous City, whereof the provisions could last but a few Days, to avoid their being severely treated as Enemies: By this Coincidence of unlucky Circumstances for that City, you became Master of it, to the great Mortification of the greatest and best Part of its Inhabitants, and to the extreme Damage of the whole.

Your Victory near *Preston* was owing, I must admit, to the Bravery of your Troops, joined to the scandalous Want of Bravery in those very Dragoons, who had upon the *Monday* preceeding retreated from the Neighbourhood of *Edinburgh*, to the Distance of a Day's March from it.



Thus, Sir, you have appeared and proceeded like a *Comet*, passing a-cross *Scotland* from the *North-west* to the *South-east*, blazing for a while, and shedding very malignant Influences ; but you flatter yourself too much, when you say you are *Master* of the ancient Kingdom of *Scotland* ; that is only true in this Sense, that hitherto there is no Force sufficient to drive you out of it. But the Hearts of the Country are not yours, nor is the greater Part of it subject to your Obedience.—The Southern and Western Provinces, almost to a Man, and the Majority of the Northern are against you ; and, even in your favourite *Highlands*, you have more Enemies, than would be sufficient alone, if they were properly *armed* and *authorized*, to defeat all who have hitherto join'd you : And this without reckoning some of the considerable *Highland* Powers, who were upon your Father's Side at the last Attempt in the Year 1715, who have felt the Clemency of the present Government, and have refused to join you now.

Neither can you be ignorant, that the whole Persons of any Property, who came with you to *Edinburgh*, if all their Estates were put together, are so inconsiderable, that even in *Scotland* there are single Commoners, who have Properties superior to them all ; and the Accession of this Sort you have got of some unfortunate Persons since your Victory, is far from being considerable. These are a few Hints of the *true Causes of the Progress* you have hitherto made in *Scotland*, which, by the best Information I have been able to get, was not

owing to any general Disaffection in the Country to the present Establishment ; but to the *Neglect* of their subordinate Rulers either to *arm* the Country itself in their own, and the Government's Defence, or to provide a regular Force adequate to the Danger.—At the same time, these Facts serve to prove, that properly speaking, you are yet far from being Master of that Country.

And if you was truly Master of it, you must know, that you cannot *keep Scotland*, without also subduing *England*, and without this there is hitherto nothing done ; and of that main Article, what Prospect of Success can you have, when there is a brave and faithful Army, of the National Troops, brought home to oppose you ? An Army, which, together with their Royal Leader, even acquired Glory when they were defeated, our Enemies themselves being Witnesses : And when to this is joined the universal Spirit that displays itself in Behalf of the present Government, with as great Unanimity as appeared against your unhappy Grandfather at the Revolution.

In order to extinguish this Spirit, you ask, “If from the Family now reigning we have reap'd any other Benefit than an immense Load of Debts.” And if you are answer'd in the Affirmation, you farther ask, “Why is our present Government railed at in all our publick Assemblies ? Why has the Nation been so long crying out in vain for Redress against the Abuse of Parliaments, upon account of their long Duration, the Multitude of Place-Men, which occasions their Venality, the



Introduction of Penal Laws ; and, in general, of the miserable Situation of the Kingdom at home and abroad ?”

This, Sir, is, it seems, the Enumeration of *Grievances*, which you are pleased to offer to redress. As for the Debts, they were mostly contracted before the Accession of the Family now reigning ; nor have you thought fit to promise, or threaten to wipe off these with a Sponge ; that is a Point you leave doubtful. And, for the rest, there is one Method indeed, which your Family have been accustomed to, which may serve to redress what you call the *Abuse of Parliaments* ; and that is, to govern without them ; and to raise Money from the Subjects without their consent. But, Sir, this Period of your Declaration is plainly borrowed from the *Cant*, of what we call the *Opposition*, which, in a Free Country, will more or less always subsist ; and was never more violent than in the Reign of our glorious Deliverer King *William* : And it discovers a gross *Mistake*, which you and your Friends labour under, who from Pamphlets, Journals, and angry Speeches in Parliament, have taken the Fancy to conclude, that this Nation was generally *disaffected* to the present Government, and ripe for a Revolt, and upon that Foundation to flatter yourself with the Hopes of Success in your present Attempt.

You have not, Sir, been rightly informed concerning the Temper of this Nation ; we are corrupt and giddy enough, God knows ; but the *Spirit of Liberty*, and the Qualities of *good Sense*, and *sound*

*Understanding*, are not yet wholly extinct. We can baul against the *measures*, of an Administration very loudly, and even bring about a Change of *Ministers*, without being mad enough to intend a *Change of Kings*. We are so happy in the most essential Articles, that we complain grievously when we are *not sick*, and talk of our miserable Situation, upon every *slight Ailment*. But when you offer us your strong Medicines, we are yet wise enough to know, that these would prove worse than all the Diseases, real or imaginary, we now labour under ; and as long as our Religion, Laws and Liberties are perfectly secure, we are *sound* in the *vital Parts*, and will take no Medicine which may become a *deadly Poison* to these. We can look back upon no Period during the Reigns of your Family, in which we were so happy in all respects, as we feel ourselves under the present Establishment. As for Religion, the Church by Law establish'd is in full Possession of all its Rights and Privileges, and without any Fears or Jealousies, sees the Dissenters from it, and even those of your Communion, enjoy Liberty of Conscience. Those who have the Law against them, do now in reality enjoy greater Happiness and Security in respect to the Exercise of their Religion, than in the Days of your Ancestors, did the Church by Law established. —The Laws of the Land, in respect of private Property, have their free Course : The greatest Man in the Kingdom cannot hurt, nor oppress the *meanest*. Upon Liberty there is no Encroachment, and it is overlooked even when it becomes licentious ; wit-



ness the many clamorous Writings that have served to mislead, and have been repeated by you ; many of them writ in an audacious, and some of them even in a treasonable Stile.

The Nation being thus situated, to abstract once more from the Question of *Right*, what advantage can it propose to itself by a Change of Government? Can we expect to be in a more happy Situation, after undergoing all the Calamities of a Civil War, than we now are? Or can we even propose, to ourselves to be free from that Circumstance, which is attended with some Inconveniencies, a disputed Succession, or a *Pretender* to our *Crown*? For let me suppose for once, that this Nation shall suffer the Misfortune of your being finally successful in your present Enterprize; that you had brought about a new Revolution, and that you should govern even better than we have Reason to expect ; can any Man who knows the History of *England*, and the strong Attachment of this Nation to the Family now reigning, be so fond as to Imagine that there would not be mighty Factions and Divisions under your Government? And as most certainly, the present Royal Family would not lay down their Pretensions, or depart from their Right, built upon the Grounds that I have above stated, would not these Pretensions be *asserted* by the numerous Friends of that Family *at home, aided*, as the last Revolution was, by a powerful *Army from abroad* ; and that not borrowed from the *States General*, as that of the Prince of *Orange* was, but of the *proper Troops* of the Prince himself ; who, tho' they are

not numerous enough to *subdue* this Kingdom, if it was *unanimous*, would be well able to give the *Superiority* to the Friends of their Prince ; And thus your Revolution, which God avert, would, in all Probability, soon produce another ; and this unhappy Nation be made the continual, or frequent Scene of all the Miseries of Civil War.

There is I think, Sir, a manifest *Fallacy* in the Arguments of this your second and amended Manifesto, or Address to this Nation, by which you seek to justify your present Attempt, to bring so many and great Mischiefs on this Kingdom. You set on with an Offer to *restore* us to the Possession of our Religion, Laws, and Liberties ; and when afterwards you come to point out the *Grievances* under which we labour ; these consist of *repeating Objections* to certain *Measures of Administration*, that have been pursued of late Years ; most of which have not been the sole Acts of the Crown, but have from time to time received the Sanction of Parliament : And shall we fall out with our King for what we ourselves have done? You yourself are carrying the Principles of *Resistance*, in order to serve your present Purpose, farther than this Free Nation itself ever profess'd or practis'd.

And to explain myself farther on this Argument, be pleased, Sir, to consider, that there are two Things very distinct, which you seem to blend together ; tho' in order to a fair Enquiry into the Truth and Justice of this weighty Cause, which you



have now brought on, they ought to be carefully separated : And these are, The Validity of *your Title*, and the *Miscarriages*, if there are such, of the Royal Family now reigning. If it be true that your Claim by Hereditary Right, is of itself absolute, certain, and indefeasible, it is unnecessary to tell us that we are *ill-governed* at present ; for if the Estate be mine, I ought to recover it, suppose the present unlawful Possessor, or *Intruder*, as you call him, to be the best Master that ever the Tenants had, or the best Farmer who ever possessed the Ground.

Again, if the *Title alone* will not do, without alledging *Miscarriages* of the *present Possessor*, the *Title* of the Pretender must be laid out of the Case ; and it only remains, to examine the *reality* and *Importance* of those *alledged Miscarriages* ; whether they be sufficient, supposing the *Title* of the present Possessor to be *once good* and valid, to forfeit that *Title*, and deprive him of the Possession. And, Sir, if you can alledge any thing proper for convincing the Nation of this, it is possible they may listen to you, in *Part* ; for doubtless the *Hereditary Right*, which is granted *by Law* to the Royal Family now reigning, is not *more indefeasible*, than that under which your Grandfather held the Crown, which by his *Miscarriages* he lost. At the same time it is not *more defeasible*, nor can be lost, without the same, or the like *weighty Reasons* ! and if there were such, to the Satisfaction of the whole Nation, to make them wish for a Change, it is another Question, Whether we should make the

Change which you propose ; or be of Opinion, that we should *mend our Condition*, by calling your Father from *Rome*, to set the Crown upon his Head ?

But then, Sir, as to the *Miscarriages* themselves which you object, it would be very tedious to enter into a detail of every disputed Act of Administration of the Government, during these last thirty years. For in a Free Country, such as this has been, during that Period especially, when within and without Doors, every one has been at full Liberty to speak, and write, and publish what he pleased, what is there that will not be disputed ? And in the Measures of Government, or Questions purely Prudential, that are incapable of strict Demonstration on the one Side or the other ; Such as, what is the fittest term for Indurance of Parliaments ; the fittest Number of Place-Men to be admitted into, or excluded from them ; how many thousand Men the National Troops ought to consist of, in this or that Conjuncture ; whether this or that Duty should be levied by Officers of Excise or Customs ; what is there that may not plausibly be disputed ?

But to give you, Sir, all the Advantages you can fairly require in this great Debate, I shall for Argument sake suppose, that in the Measures of the Administration, during these thirty years past, there have been many Errors or Mistakes committed, and that the *Opposers*, whose Language you borrow, were *frequently in the Right* ; and I think, more than this no candid Person will require to be



admitted : And let us fairly examine the just Consequences of this Supposition or Admission.

I presume, Sir, you know very well that the Writers upon the Law of Nations, take notice of two Sorts of *Rights* that may be competent to Mankind, the *Perfect* and the *Imperfect*; of the first Sort is that of every subject in a free Country, to his *Liberty* and *Property*, and to the Exercise of his *Religion*, whether *established* or *tolerated* by *Law*; of the latter Sort is the Right which the Indigent have to be relieved, Persons of Ability to be employed and preferred, and the like imperfect Claims which afford no Action. And tho' it be laudable to render Justice to those Claims, it is not *directly injurious* to withhold, or neglect it, in any particular Instance.

Of this latter Kind of imperfect Rights, is that of Servants who are once employed, and discharge their Duties with Fidelity, and without frequent or very gross Faults, to be *continued*, or *promoted* in the Master's Service; and yet, as the Master has no Property to his Servants, but they may resign, or quit their Places at Pleasure, the Servants have no Property in their Places, that they may be removed at the Pleasure of their Master, without his being, strictly speaking, guilty of Injustice.

The like is the Case of the Servants of the Crown, whether the great Officers, or Ministers of State, or the Inferior ones, who have no Freehold in their Offices; and the Power of conferring these, is the chief Part of the Power of a King of *Great Britain*, of whom it may be truly said in this

Respect, that he can do good, but can do no harm; so long as he keeps within the Bounds of the Laws, and maintains inviolated the essential Liberties of the Subject: For there are no *Lettres de Cachet* in this happy Kingdom, nor can the King legally, by himself alone, do the smallest Hurt to the Person, Liberty, or Property, of the Subject, But amongst them, for the good Things he has to bestow, there is at all times no small struggle; and as it is necessary for carrying on the publick Affairs, that the Ministers he employs be not obnoxious to the Parliament, and as that House of Parliament, which holds the Purse of the Nation, depend, for their Seats there, upon their Electors; it follows, that the Body of the People have indirectly, or by Progression, a considerable Influence over this undoubted Prerogative of the Crown, the Choice of its own Ministers.

Hence arises that Humour of Opposition to Administrations, within and without Doors, whose Language you have learned, and now employ it to persuade this Nation to a Change of the Government itself.

But, Sir, be pleased to reflect, how *inconclusive* the Arguments must be for your *Purpose*, supposing them ever so just for working out the Purpose for which they were professedly advanced. Upon the Complaints of my Tenants, whether well or ill founded, I may remove my Steward; because in that I do no Injustice, and may possibly change for the better and perhaps for the worse; but I cannot divorce my Wife, or disinherit my eldest



Son, because the one goes too often to Play, or the other to the Tavern; *they* have a *perfect Right* to the respective *Relations* in which they stand connected with me, which for *slight Causes* cannot be dissolved, without the *highest Impiety*, and most shocking *Injustice*. And it is for *such Causes* that you seek to persuade this Nation to rebel against their King now reigning, by hereditary Right; tho' you complain of *Injustice* done to your Grandfather by the Nation's expelling him for the many *Capital* and *Essential Miscarriages* above-mentioned. Is not this, Sir, to *spy the Mote in the Eye of your Brother*, whilst you are *insensible of the Beam in your own*?

In Short, Sir, the *Title* of a *King* is one thing, and his *Behaviour* is another; it is the political Creed of this Nation, "That a King may forfeit his Title by gross Misbehaviour." If this Proposition be not true, you have no Occasion to tell us of the *Miscarriages* in the late or present Reign; but tell us roundly, that how good soever the Government has been, it is an unlawful one, and your Father has the only Title.—But if this be too gross to be swallowed by this Nation, the other question must be considered in the same Manner, as if all the Issue not only of King James the Second, but all the other Issue of King Charles the First, were at this Moment *naturally dead*, in which case King George the Second would be the *Lineal*, as well as the *Parliamentary Heir* of the Royal Family; and then we should only have to consider, whether there are *now subsisting* such

*Grievances* and *Oppressions* under his Government, as ought to stir us up to make a *New Revolution*? A Question so absurd, that I could almost venture to trust to your own Understanding for an Answer in the *Negative*.

Thus, Sir, before we proceed to quell by Force the *Rebellious Insurrection* you have excited, (which I trust in the Goodness of God we shall be able to do) I have been at Pains to convince myself and my Fellow-Subjects of the *Goodness of our Cause*, by endeavouring to expose the *Weakness* of what you have alledged in Support of yours; and I think I have demonstrated,—That you promise to *Restore* what we are *already possessed of*,—That you do not *promise* in plain and express Terms to pay the *Publick Debts* contracted since the Revolution,—But expressly *threaten* to hold the *Union* of the Kingdoms as dissolved,—That *inconsistently* you admit *Miscarriages* committed by your Grandfather, and *Rights* and *Liberties competent* to the Subjects of this Kingdom, and at the same time assert that his *Expulsion* or *Abdication* was *unlawful*, and all the Acts of Government *invalid* for these fifty-seven Years past.—And lastly, when you object *Miscarriages* to the present Government, in order to *excite a Rebellion* against it, you argue upon the *very Principle* of the late Revolution, which you *deny*; and in the *Application* of that *Principle*, argue most *unjustly*, by labouring to excite a *Change of Government*, for Reasons that were perhaps not sufficient to bring about a *Change of Ministry*.



42 *AN ANSWER TO THE PRETENDER.*

And for all these Reasons,—you must excuse me, when I subscribe myself as being, in your assumed publick Character,

*S I R,*

Nov. 5<sup>th</sup>,  
1745.

*Your generous Adversary,*

BRITANNICUS.







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